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Eastern Europe

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ZHIVKOV CHAIRS STATE COUNCIL SESSION 3 MAR

AU031843 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] A State Council session chaired by Comrade Todor Zhivkov was held today. Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, also attended the session which discussed ways of perfecting legal services to the people. The State Council assigned the competent organs to shortly elaborate basic trend toward a comprehensive reform in the court system, and legislation based on the Constitution and the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress that is in compliance with the stage of building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria. The implementation of these measures will create conditions for further and consistently simplifying, improving and making legal services more accessible to the people, as well as shortening the procedures [words indistinct] which the citizens are spending for obtaining legal services.

The State Council decided to submit an adequate proposal to the National Assembly so that not only the Supreme Court judges but also the judges of the okrug and regional courts should be elected and relieved by the National Assembly. When the National Assembly is not in session, they will be appointed and relieved by the State Council.

SOFIA CEREMONY MARKS LIBERATION ANNIVERSARY

AU031840 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1704 GMT on 3 March carries a live relay from the Soviet soldier's monument in Sofia of a military memorial ceremony devoted to the 104th anniversary of the liberation of Bulgaria from the Ottoman yoke. At 1705 GMT Col Metody Sotirov, commanding the military memorial ceremony, and Lt Gen Lyubcho Toshkov inspect and salute the Bulgarian soldiers of the Todor Kableshkov military school.

At 1711 GMT a band begins playing a hymn marking the beginning of the roll call of the names of the Bulgarian revolutionaries and soldiers as well as of the Russian general, officers and soldiers who fell for Bulgaria's freedom. The announcer says that Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, Chudomir Aleksandrov, the military attaches and Col Gen Vladimir Yakushin, representative of the commander in chief of the joint armed forces of the Warsaw Pact member countries attached to the Bulgarian People's Army, are attending the ceremony.

At 1716 GMT the commander of the military memorial ceremony begins receiving the reports of the company commanders, each of whom reprots that their troops are accounted for. At 1722 GMT the announcer says that wreaths of gratitude are being laid on the monument of the Soviet soldier, and a band plays a hymn. Following this, the commander of the ceremony reads slogans glorifying the invincible Soviet Army, the victories of the Bulgarian Army and others.

The live relay ends at 1728 GMT with the Bulgarian national anthems, other marches and fireworks.

FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER HOLDS PRESS CONFERENCE

AU032100 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] Sofia, 3 Mar (BTA) -- Bulgaria's foreign economic relations are developing favourably. This is what Mr Khristo Khristov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign trade, said at a press conference held today. He stressed that despite all the difficulties on the international market [word indistinct] predominantly by the economic crisis of the Western states, Bulgaria's foreign trade is developing with rates exceeding those of her national income.

The minister laid emphasis on the fact that in recent years this country's foreign trade has been ending with an active balance. "Bulgaria has no difficulties in her payments," he added.

Mr Khristo Khristov dwelt on the results of Bulgaria's economic relations last year. Trade grew by 15 per cent as against that in 1980. The sphere of the socialist countries in the total trade was 72 per cent, 52 per cent being the share of the Soviet Union. The trade with the USSR was increased by 11.2 per cent as compared with that in 1980. The minister stressed that this country's relations with the Soviet Union have an [word indistinct] significance for the intensive development of all branches of the Bulgarian economy because it ensures the supplying according to plan with the machinery, raw materials and other goods needed.

The minister of foreign trade made an analysis of Bulgaria's economic relations with developed capitalist countries. He said that the international economic situation is being aggravated (?by the political) factor and mainly as a result of the policy pursued by the U.S. administration. Mr Khristo Khristov stressed that Washington is pursuing a policy of restricting the economic relations with the socialist states. It is making efforts to impose this policy to the other Western countries too. "The policy of [word indistinct] pursued by the USA is being turned into an embargo policy," he added. The minister stressed that Bulgaria is for equitable and mutually advantageous economic relations with the Western states in compliance with the agreements of Helsinki. As an example of a good cooperation with this group of countries the nearly 160 agreements on industrial cooperation signed by Bulgaria and some Western firms were mentioned.

Questions related to cooperation with the developing countries were also touched upon. Bulgaria maintains economic relations with more than 70 Third World countries [word indistinct] trade with them was increased by about 43 per cent as against that of 1980. "Bulgaria is for longterm and reciprocally beneficial relations with the developing countries, for contacts [words indistinct] economic potential," he added.

SOVIET MINISTER PERVYSHIN SIGNS AGGREEMENT

Meets Lukanov

AU031430 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, has received Erlen Pervyshin, Soviet minister of communications equipment industry, who is visiting Bulgaria as a head of the Soviet delegation to the 47th session of the CEMA Permanent Commission for Radio Technical and Electronic Industry.

Meets Doynov

AU031841 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] Comrade Ognyan Doynov has met with Erlen Pervyshin, Soviet minister of communications equipment industry, who is visiting Bulgaria. During the cordial and friendly talks, certain issues of the economic and scientific-technical cooperation in the sphere of industry and means for communications and radioelectronics between the two countries were discussed. Toncho Chakurov, minister of machinebuilding and electronics, also attended the talks.

Communication Agreement

AU032050 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] Erlen Pervyshin, Soviet minister of communications equipment industry, and leader of the Soviet delegation to the 43d session of the CEMA Permanent Commission for Radio-Technical and Electronic Industry, who is visiting Bulgaria, and Toncho Chakurov, minister of machinebuilding and electronics, signed documents in Sofia on prolonging the agreement on specialization and production-sharing between the two countries in the sphere of the communications industry. An agreement on establishing in Bulgaria, with Soviet assistance, quasi electronic automated telephone stations of the (?Klonik) type was also signed.

DOYNOV, LUKANOV RECEIVE HUNGARIAN MINISTER MEHES

AU032052 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] Comrade Ognyan Doynov and Andrey Lukanov have received Erlen Pervyshin, Soviet minister of communications equipment industry, who is head of the Soviet delegation to the 43d CEMA Permanent Commission for Radio-Technical and Electronic Industry. Comrade Ognyan Doynov and Andrey Lukanov have also received Lajos Mehes, chairman of the CEMA permanent Commission for Radio-Technical and Electronic Industry, MSZMP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of industry of the Hungarian People's Republic.

FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS HOLD TALKS IN HAGUE

AU022057 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 2 Mar 82

[Text] Consultations between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and the Netherlands have been held in the Hague. The Bulgarian delegation was led by Lyuben Kotsev, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and the Netherlands' delegation by Kasto Reining, director general for political issues at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The state of bilateral relations and prospects for their development were reviewed. Views on topical international questions, including the relations between East and West, on disarmament and on the Madrid meeting were exchanged.

BRIEFS

NEW TV RELAY STATION -- A new television relay station has recently been commissioned in the Drenski Rid locality, near the town of Stanke Dimitrov. The equipment installed has not only helped to improve the relay and reception of the first TV program for the area, but has ensured high quality reception of the second program. The citizens of Stanke Dimitrov and all inhabitants of the area can already receive the first program on Channel 12, while those who wish to watch the second program need additional equipment in order to receive the program on Channels 2 and 28. The equipment for the relay station has been built and assembled by the workers collectives of the "Development and Municipal Economy" enterprise in Stanke Dimitrov, and by the workers of the Blagoevgrad branch of the "Radio Stations and Television" assembling organization. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DE'O in Bulgarian 22 Feb 82 p 2 AU]

POLAND'S SIWAK, PIOTROWSKI VISIT POWER STATION

LD031204 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] Workers at the Prunerov II power station are today in a festive mood. Here is our North Bohemian correspondent, Jindrich Stahlavskiy with more details:

Vlastimil Ehrenberger, Czechoslovak minister for fuel and power, and General Czeslaw Piotrowski, minister of the mining and power industry of the Polish People's Republic this morning visited the Czchoslovak-Polish friendship project, the Prunerov II power station. They were accompanied by Comrade Albin Siwak, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo. The visit is taking place in connection with the delivery of the third production block to the Czechoslovak consumer, the "Socialist Union of Youth" power station at Tusimice 3 days ahead of schedule. The remaining two blocks will be handed over this year.

After completion, the plant, constructed by Polish firms, will have a capacity of 1,050 mw.

This afternoon there will be a construction workers' aktiv at the Vlacovny pipe mill and foundry club in Chomutov, where state and industry distinctions will be presented to the most outstanding Czechoslovak and Polish construction workers.

RUDE PRAVO UNDERSCORES TIES WITH POLAND

AU031501 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Mar 82 p 6

[Jan Hrobar article: "On the Anniversary of the Czechoslovak-Polish Treaty of Alliance; A Friendship with Deep Roots"]

[Excerpts] In creating the first Czechoslovak-Polish treaty in 1947 one proceeded from historical experience; but the validity of this experience is a lasting one. The continuity of this experience was transferred into the treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the CSSR and the Polish People's Republic, concluded on 1 March 1967. We are recalling its anniversary today.

The policy of fraternal parties, the realization of the program of building the socialist society introduced a new quality into mutual Czechoslovak-Polish relations; it enriched them with new contents and expanded their forms. In past decades we witnessed the dynamic development of cooperation between Czchoslovakia and Poland, between our peoples and the working people. The development of Czechoslovak-Polish friendship and cooperation on the basis of socialist internationalism was a significant contribution to the process of forming and developing the socialist community.

It is a feat which was a thorn in the side of all antisocialist and hostile forces. Especially throughout the Polish crisis, the activity of counterrevolutionary elements clearly showed that they were striving to pull the power to their side. The main component of dismantling the socialist system in Poland was the revision of foreign-policy relations and ties of People's Poland, including Czechoslovak-Polish relations and everything achieved by our peoples in the postwar period in this field. The Polish reaction's attacks became aimed against the membership of the Polish People's Republic in the Warsaw Pact and the CEMA. The shameless attacks against the Soviet Union also logically led to attacks against the existing Oder-Neisse border, which emerged as the result of the defeat of Hitlerite fascism in World War II. The bosses of "Solidarity," of the so-called KOR Confederation and other reactionaries left nobody in doubt about the way they wanted to set the Polish course. It was typical that in their programs they rejected both socialism and the historic experience of the Polish peoples, including their tragic fate during the pan-Germanic "Drang Nach Osten."

Blood was to have flowed again, Polish houses were to have burned; a detonator was placed under Polish peace as well as world peace.

At the very last moment the Polish people averted the danger. They used extreme measures for this, but also their own forces -- forces which in the existing situation acted in a state-building manner. The intentions of world imperialism were frustrated, and this evoked Washington's anger.

People's Poland is undergoing hard times. But it is not alone, the forces of socialism and progress throughout the world have taken places at its side. In this difficult situation the Polish people were able to convince themselves that they have reliable support in socialist Czechoslovakia, in our peoples. The entire course of counterrevolutionary events there showed that our people never were, are or will be indifferent to the fate of our immediate neighbor, of People's Poland.

The declaration of Polish representatives that Poland was, is and will be a socialist state and a firm link in the concordant family of socialist countries was received by the Czechoslovak public with appreciation and seriousness [vaznost].

The Polish people are now struggling to lead the country and society out of the crisis. To successfully defend the positions of socialism, to get even with all enemies and to normalize life and the economy will need both time and a lot of effort.

We wish the Polish communists and all Polish people success in coping with this difficult task; and we can assure them that, as in the past, they also have a reliable friend and ally in our people in this difficult situation.

RUDE PRAVO COMMENTS ON LATEST PZPR PLENUM

AU031307 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Mar 82 p 4

[Jan Lipavsky Warsaw dispatch: "The Struggle for Unity Continues; After the Seventh Session of the PZPR Central Committee"; capitalized passages published in boldface"]

[Text] AS CAN BE JUDGED FROM THE INITIAL REACTIONS TO THE SEVENTH SESSION OF THE PARTY'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE POLISH WORKING PEOPLE ACCEPT AND UNDERSTAND WHAT GEN W. JARUZELSKI, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE, SAID IN HIS CLOSING SPEECH THAT THE PARTY CANNOT FULFILL TODAY ALL THE EXPECTATIONS OF SOCIETY IN THE MATERIAL SPHERE.

One can deduce from the reactions to this session yet another thing: The communists are expected to head the effort to lead the country out of the crisis. However, it is being realized that the party's purposeful activity depends upon its ideological, political and organizational unity. TRYBUNA LUDU has written, by the way, that the problem of party unity must be regarded as the leitmotiv of the Central Committee's session. As the newspaper stresses, various disagreements (spory) are known -- disagreements that preceded the Ninth PZPR Congress but also such that were manifested during it and afterwards. TRYBUNA LUDU writes that only the Leninist concept of party unity can make the party act.

The very manner in which the main idea of "national accord and dialogue," which was the focus of attention of the seventh PZPR Central Committee session, as elaborated showed now the approaches to this idea vary. It is being perceived and interpreted in diverse ways. The implementation of the idea requires a joint, united and class-based approach. The peculiar notions of "national accord" championed by the Episcopate at its 183d conference, 2 days after the conclusion of the party Central Committee session, must not mislead anyone. The Episcopate calls, in fact, on the organs of people's power to expeditiously put an end to the state of emergency and to "forgive," so to speak, all those who prior to 13 December were driving the nation to a civil war. The communique of this conference calls for the release of those interned and expresses the belief that all those who have committed criminal acts against the state of emergency will be pardoned and that those who are now hiding from justice will be able to return to public life. The Episcopate is striving to revive "Solidarity" with its former leaders at the top.

THE CHURCH DIGNITARIES QUITE DELIBERATELY MISLEAD THE POLISH PUBLIC WHEN THEY CLAIM THAT EXPLICIT ENEMIES OF SOCIALISM CAN CONDUCT A "DIALOGUE" WITH ADVOCATES OF SOCIALISM; THAT COMMUNISTS CAN SHAKE HANDS WITH ANTICOMMUNISTS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF "NATIONAL ACCORD," AND SO FORTH. Let us recall in this context the position of TRYBUNA LUDU, which recently expressed "astonishment" at the political gestures of some church dignitaries who openly incite "opposition" to the Military Council and the Polish People's Republic's Government.

Thus the truth is that, just like prior to the seventh session of the party Central Committee, the Episcopate continues to take stands that are, to put it mildly, far removed from the official state and party positions. It deliberately closes its eyes to such facts as the constant attempts by the enemies of People's Poland to instigate unrest at various places, to their attempts to turn back to the period prior to 13 December of last year. IT CONCEALS THE FACT THAT THESE INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS, WHICH ENJOY THE FULL MORAL AND OTHER SUPPORT OF SOME CHURCH CIRCLES AND SUBVERSIVE ANTICOMMUNIST CENTERS IN THE WEST, ARE WAGING A CONSTANT INSIDIOUS STRUGGLE AGAINST THE CONSTITUTIONAL ORGANS OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC. THEY SLANDER THE PARTY AND THE MILITARY COUNCIL, STRIVE TO BREAK UP THE PARTY, TO DISARM IT IDEOLOGICALLY AND MAKE IT AN OBEDIENT INSTRUMENT OF REVISIONIST FORCES.

Everything suggests that the period after the Seventh PZPR Central Committee session will be a period of continued sharp political struggle that must be waged by the Marxist-Leninist forces against their adversaries within and outside the party. This follows also from the first meetings of representatives of the party leadership in the primary PZPR organizations and at voivodship party aktivs.

It is being stressed at these aktivs, among other things, that the discussion on the ideological declaration must speed up the process of eliminating revisionist and opportunist stands and views that weaken the party and must show who is who and what his aims are. At issue are the remarks by Z. Targis from the Gorzow silk factory which, in fact, are also being repeated by many other party members in production plants: "It must be clear to every party member what he should support and struggle for. And those who are not members of the party must know what the party stands for, what it is striving to do, and what its general goals are." The ideological declaration should give a clear answer to this.

According to the initial evaluations of the results of the Seventh PZPR Central Committee session published in the party press, the session fulfilled its role. It confirmed the line of the Ninth PZPR Congress and made the first attempt to analyze the events between July and December of last year and the present situation. But only time will show to what extent this analysis was correct and to what extent the conclusions from it, and from the session of the party committee in general, correspond to the need for society's integration and the restoration of party unity. BUT ONE THING IS CLEAR EVEN NOW: IT WAS NO ACCIDENT THAT MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE WERE EXPRESSING THEIR CONVICTION AT THE SESSION THAT THE PARTY MUST ENERGETICALLY SOLVE MANY KEY PROBLEMS AND ISSUES THAT HAD BEEN NEGLECTED IN THE PAST. AMONG OTHER PROBLEMS, THE QUESTION OF THE BONDS BETWEEN THE WORKERS AND THE PEASANTS AND, IN IMMEDIATE CONNECTION WITH THIS, THE QUESTION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CITY AND THE COUNTRYSIDE BUT ALSO, IF NOT PRIMARILY, THE QUESTION OF THE STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION OF POLISH RURAL AREAS. Furthermore, a topical task is also the party's influence on the young generation, which -- especially in the recent period -- has become subject to a dangerous "school" of various mystifications and cosmopolitan views on things, events and the world.

There was no place for cheap optimism at the Seventh PZPR Central Committee session. What prevailed was the awareness of great responsibility for the fate of socialist development and advancement of the country. There is unity in the conviction that the key to a full normalization of life lies in the capacity for action of the entire party, of all its segments from top to bottom.

DZUR, ROMANIAN DEFENSE MINISTER ADDRESS RALLY

LD040052 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] The official military delegation of the Romanian Socialist Republic led by Lt Gen Constantin Olteanu, minister of national defense, accompanied by Army Gen Martin Dzur, minister of national defense, today visited the Slovak National Uprising Air Force high school in Kosice. The guests inspected the hall of combat traditions and the school's modern education-training equipment. After that, accompanied by members of the school, the delegation attended a meeting of friendship between the Czechoslovak and the Romanian Army in the Palace of Culture in Kosice. The meeting was addressed by the ministers of national defense of the two states.

ANTIFASCIST FIGHTERS UNION VISITS USSR TROOPS

AU011621 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Feb 82 p 2

[Text] Members of the Central Committee Presidium of the Czechoslovak Union of Anti-fascist Fighters, headed by its chairman, Frantisek Miseje, on Thursday visited the Central Group of Soviet troops in the CSSR in Milovice, on the occasion of the 34th anniversary of Victorious February and the 64th anniversary of the birth of the Soviet Army. In Milovice, they were received by Lt Gen Mikhail Goglev, chief of the Political Administration of the Central Group of Soviet troops in the CSSR. During the visit the two representatives signed an agreement on cooperation aimed at rearing youth in the spirit of combat and revolutionary traditions of the peoples of the USSR and CSSR.

CPCZ'S HAVLIN ADDRESSES WRITERS CONGRESS

LD040016 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 3 Mar 82

["Excerpt" of speech given by Josef Havlin, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat, at third congress of Czech writers in Dobris 3 March -- recorded]

[Text] (?I would like to wish you) all, masters of the word and pen from all over our republic, successes in creating new, high-quality works which will cultivate in people the qualities of the builders of socialism, which will serve as an illustration of the full-blooded hero of the present as the bearer of a responsible attitude to work and of social courage, which will wage a battle with (?expressions) of bourgeois attitudes and consumer psychology and with influences of the bourgeois world and strengthen pride in our citizens for their socialist country. We certainly do not want you to put on rose-tinted spectacles when you create, or obscure the true themes concerning our working people. On the other hand, however, it is necessary to deal in a principled way with unhealthy views of our reality and with cases when the constructive endeavors of our people are disparaged. Let us do everything possible to weed out of our book market soulless and gray works so that there is a further thriving of literature which is convincing both through its artistic mastery and the beauty of the world and through its artistic mastery and the beauty of the world and through the strength of the socialist ideal: that is, truly revolutionary literature.

Your high civic activity shows that you understand well the role of writers in the struggle for peace. This is borne out also by your open letter to the writers of West Europe. Let our socialist literature find its place all over the world. Let it awaken the conscience of honest people in the West and remind them of their responsibility for a peaceful and progressive today and tomorrow in the world.

PAPER ON IAEA COUNCIL OF GOVERNOR'S SESSION

AU011811 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Feb 82 p 1

[CTK Vienna dispatch: "The Intensification of the IAEA's System of Guarantees"]

[Text] Vienna (CTK) -- This Thursday, late at night, the session of the Council of Governors, the IAEA's supreme body in the period between its general conferences, came to an end. Both the deliberations and the general discussion showed that most delegations fully support both the IAEA's system of guarantees and the stipulations of the treaty on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, and demand that they be intensified and consolidated. The efforts of the representatives of certain countries to make use of the complicated political situation established in this organization after its 25th general conference last September, as well as the attempts to introduce into the discussion elements of Reagan's policy of confrontation, obviously failed. Last, but not least, this was due to the states of the socialist community, the representatives of which continued to warn, and to prove by facts that any violation of the system of guarantees and of the "regime of nonproliferation" is a direct threat to peace. In the matter of technical assistance, which is among the main questions deliberated on in Vienna, the socialist states spoke in favor of granting it in future to the least developed countries. This demand was conveyed by Ambassador E. Keblusek, first deputy chairman of the Governor's Council.

ARTICLE CRITICIZES SLOVAK FURNITURE INDUSTRY

AU011840 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Feb 82 p 3

[Vojtech Vesely article "Solution: Intensification"]

[Summary] The report submitted to the members meeting of the CPSL primary organization at the general directorate of the timber and furniture industry economic production unit in Zilina contained few positive facts. "Our timber and furniture industry employees do not recall a year whose economic results were as adverse as the results of last year. The production output of this economic production unit with 43,000 employees was kcs200 million below the 1980 output, which was a 2.6 percent decline. Products which were for years marketed without any great problems suddenly became unsaleable. As Slovak Minister of Finance Frantisek Miseje noted in the discussion, this economic production unit's nonfulfillment of planned profits accounted for 40 percent of the nonfulfillment of planned profits of the entire Slovak industry in 1981. Thus last year certainly did not represent a good start for the Seventh 5-Year Plan, in the course of which the Slovak timer-processing industry should increase its production 30 percent.

However, instead of finding the causes of the current situation, the February members meeting of communists in the economic production unit's management body circumvented them. It is better to admit this bitter truth in a candid and comradely manner than to conceal it, because no remedial process can be successful without determining the correct diagnoses.

"Let us take a look at the committee's report to see what it describes as the causes of the problems. It refers to 'heretofore unknown and scarcely predictable difficulties.' At the beginning of the year trade organizations and construction enterprises cancelled several supplier-consignee contracts as a result of a 'decline in capital investment and particularly apartment construction in our country. In the second quarter of the year there was a danger that 18,000 employees would have no work for 2 and 1/2 months. An alternative solution was found -- among other things, in the replacement of more than 30 types of furniture by other models -- but this has 'upset the effectiveness and economic indexes of the plan.' The report also includes the 'objectivization,' if you pardon the expression, of typically subjective factors when it says that 'there has been a decline in the profits of primary production enterprises due to the commissioning of new production facilities, breakdowns and the failure to achieve the planned parameters.'

Just for the sake of illustration: the timber-processing combine in Pezinok, instead of achieving profits, ended the year with a loss of kcs72 million; the Dervine plant in Turany with a loss of kcs58 million; and the profit of the Bucina plant in Zvolen was kcs59 million lower than planned. Referring to the failure to fulfill the export tasks to nonsocialist countries by kcs185 million in wholesale prices, the committee sees the causes as follows: 'The persisting crisis of capitalism meant a decline in interest in our products on the Western markets.' Only on the margin, so to speak, does the report mention that 'production problems' also had an impact on this. The Drevounia foreign trade enterprise, which 'in its commercial activity did not adjust itself to the changed conditions for the sale of our products,' is the only originator of the export difficulties that is named in the report. Finally, there is also a reference to unexpectedly low temperatures and to the deep snow in December.

"This 'pointing fingers at others' also permeated some statements made in the discussion. Commercial Director Karol Hell, for example, described the fact that 'the tasks in deliveries for the market set by the planning body were at variance with the trend in capital investment, especially in apartment construction' as the decisive disproportion. He deduced from this the term 'disproportionate plan.' It is true that he also spoke about some subjective factors but, unfortunately, he did not do so in a specifically targeted, but in a vague form."

Even though many correct and inspiring thoughts were also voiced, the meeting as a whole showed that outdated "industrial thinking" still survives. Only when following such thinking is it possible to perceive the gradual shifting of gears in our economy toward intensification as something hitherto unknown and scarcely predictable. In the timber processing and furniture industry this means that the market of the supplier, who in the years of extensive development was able to sell virtually anything, is becoming a market of the consumer, who is demanding, who prefers quality to quantity and compares it with foreign products.

This change was predictable long ago; since its session in February 1972 the Central Committee has been calling for effectiveness and quality of all work. What our furniture industry lacks is a knowledge of the market and of development trends, and a good strategy.

Innovation must be regarded as an advantage and a way toward greater effectiveness, and not as something that upsets the indexes of the plan. New production facilities reduce profits only when they had not been properly planned or executed -- but let us not talk about reasons that are outside us in such cases. And -- as regards the need to adjust to the conditions of intensive development -- it is above all the producers and not Drevounia who must adjust. It would also be correct when, instead of musing about a disproportionate plan, the furniture producers dealt with the problems of their products' quality and stylishness.

The way out of the situation in which the timber and furniture industry economic production unit has found itself lies -- as General Director Jozef Ciganik pointed out in his statement in the discussion -- in a consistent implementation of the individual plants' and the production unit's 2-year intensification program. The program is realistic but it requires not only a high degree of responsibility and initative on the part of the ranking personnel, especially communists, but also their modern, intensive thinking.

SLOVAK PRAVDA CRITICIZES POOR QUALITY FODDER

AU011831 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Feb 82 p 5

[Article by Rudolf Vanco, head of a CPSL Central Committee department: "Untapped Potential in the Production of Bulk Fodder Should Be More Fully Utilized; Broad Scope for Initiative"]

[Excerpts] In Slovakia, potential in the production of bulk fodder should be sought in the first place in the previously inadequately utilized approximately 830,000 hectares of permanent grassland, particularly in the Central Slovak and East Slovak Regions. With a 53.3 and 37.8 percent share, respectively, in the area of agricultural land, they provide realistic prerequisites for intensifying beef cattle and sheep raising. However, up to now this possibility has not been sufficiently appreciated, with the result that desirable structural changes in animal production have not occurred. The following facts are convincing evidence of that:

In the Slovak Socialist Republic in the past 10 years, the production of pigs for slaughter increased by 54.4 percent, of poultry for slaughter by 65.6 percent and of eggs by 38.8 percent. But the production of beef cattle rose only by 23 percent and of milk by 18 percent. When we realize that in the same period the production of grain increased by 50.9 percent and of bulk fodder in terms of hay only by 8.5 percent, there is no need to go looking for further arguments. Despite many decisions, measures, instructions, recommendations, approvals and promises, the importance of bulk fodder production as one of the key sectors of plant production is still not appreciated.

The production potential of permanent grasslands is approximately 7 tons of hay per hectare. However, the actual crop in 1980 was only 3.55 tons from meadows and 1.61 tons from pastures, which is about half of their potential.

At present, the Central Agricultural Control and Test Institute is working on analyses of the quality of the 1981 bulk fodder crop. Although -- when compared with the preceding year -- a certain improvement in the quality of bulk fodder could be noted, the results to date are not satisfactory.

In this respect, according to the results obtained thus far, the worst situation exists in the Central Slovak Region, where 39 percent of the tested hay samples could be rated as being of excellent and good quality, while the rest was of poor [nevydarene] quality, which -- compared with 1980 -- is an almost 40 percent worse result. Grass hay constituted the decisive portion of the samples tested. With respect to nutriments, this type of hay contains 8 percent less albuminous substances but a greater content of fibre than in 1980, although last year the conditions in the Central Slovak Region were downright ideally suited for hay harvesting.

In the West Slovak and East Slovak Regions, 35 percent and 31 percent respectively of the tested hay samples were of poor quality.

Experience shows that nonobservance of technological discipline when conserving grass by silaging or tedding causes 17-20 percent fermentation loss and 22-30 percent loss of albuminous substances. These losses could be reduced by half.

COMMENTATOR CRITICIZES U.S. APPROACH TO SALT

DW031449 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1005 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Lutz Hermann commentary]

[Text] The U.S. Government is of the opinion that the prerequisites do not exist at present for the beginning of Soviet-American negotiations on a reduction of strategic nuclear arms. This was stated yesterday by Secretary of State Haig to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives. The United States will take up negotiations when the international situation allows. Lutz Hermann comments:

The prerequisites do not exist because the international situation is so tense. This is the guiding principle of the U.S. secretary of state. Following this kind of logic, he could also have said: no fire department please; the danger of fire is much too great in the house.

Aside from the obvious question of why the international climate is so heated up by present, the responsible U.S. secretary should devote some thought to finding a way to stabilize the situation again. Negotiations, constructive businesslike talks, are the only possible way to go.

The suggestions of the Soviet Union in this regard have been available for a long time. The constructive peace program of the 26th party congress is just one example we can remember. All of the suggestions have one aim -- to get to the negotiation table as quickly as possible and without preconditions. This position, by the way, is shared in the United States by experts who must be taken seriously. Popular Washington politicians, among them James Goodby, deputy delegation head of the Geneva SALT negotiations, which were disrupted by the United States, and Robert Grey, acting deputy director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, have stressed recently that the SALT talks could be resumed in a few months.

The only -- but decisive -- precondition is simply the will to negotiate. This will seems to be absent in Washington, and this is being frankly admitted. For example, Eugene Rostow, director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, announced this in June of last year when he said that prior to developing disarmament policy the United States is determined to act to reestablish world order. Washington's world order, naturally.

At least they have kept to this slogan, with the known result that the international situation has worsened dramatically. Haig uses this situation as evidence to demonstrate that disarmament negotiations are impossible. He could have simply said: no negotiations so as to keep the conflicts smouldering.

SINDERMANN CHAIRS PEOPLE'S CHAMBER PRESIDIUM

LD032342 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1755 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] Berlin, 3 Mar (ADN) -- At its meeting today, the GDR People's Chamber Presidium scheduled the fourth session of the People's Chamber for March 25, 1982, at 1100. Under the chairmanship of People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann the Presidium discussed preparations for the session and handed draft bills to People's Chamber committees for their attention.

Questions of cooperation with the highest representative bodies of other states were also discussed. In the debate on the reports on visits to the GDR by parliamentary delegations from Romania and Yugoslavia and by a delegation of the Palestinian National Council on a visit to the Republic of Cyprus by a People's Chamber delegation, Horst Sindermann stressed the great value of the exchange of experience between parliaments. He pointed to the great responsibility of deputies for the continuation of a constructive dialogue on the preservation and safeguarding of peace. The Presidium stressed that the People's Chamber deputies will intensify their efforts for cooperation with the parliaments of other states in this spirit.

FRG YOUTH BODY PROTESTS KOMSOMOL'S VISA REFUSAL

LD032336 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1726 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] Dortmund, 3 Mar (ADN) -- The Socialist German Workers' Youth (SDAJ) Federal Executive announced in Dortmund today that the FRG authorities have refused entry to the Federal Republic to a delegation of the Soviet Komosomol youth organisation, led by First Secretary of the Komsomol Boris Pastukhov, thus preventing it from taking part in the SDAJ's Seventh Federal Congress.

In a telex message to FRG Foreign Minister Genscher, SDAJ Federal Chairman Werner Stuermann demanded the immediate lifting of this ban on entry. In the telex to the Foreign Ministry in Bonn he stated: "Not only the SDAJ but also all those who are working for positive development of cooperation between the FRG and the USSR, especially in youth relations, expect this decision to be rescinded forthwith."

It continues: "The refusal of entry to a delegation of the Lenin Komsomol contradicts the spirit of the meeting and the statements made by the FRG Government during the visit to Bonn by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Brezhnev."

"Moreover, it is a violation of the Helsinki Final Act which expressly provides for the encouragement of youth relations by the signatory states," the message says.

"The SDAJ has always used its relations with the Lenin Komsomol to promote relations between the youth of the USSR and our country. These have developed positvely in recent years. The Foreign Ministry's decision could put a strain on these relations in general and make them more difficult."

"We expect," the message says in conclusion, "that the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, in the national interest of our country, will not subjugate itself to the confontation policy of the Reagan administration but will support the safeguarding of peace in Europe and the continuation and expansion of state relations and social contacts between the FRG and the socialist countries."

JUDICIAL TREATY PAPERS EXCHANGED WITH AUSTRIA

LD022118 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1614 GMT 2 Mar 82

[Text] Berlin, 2 Mar (ADN) -- On Tuesday GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer and Dr Hellmuth Strasser, ambassador of the Republic of Austria to the GDR, at the GDR Foreign Ministry exchanged the ratification papers and documents on the treaty between the GDR and Austria on judicial assistance in civil matters.

Oskar Fischer and Dr Hellmuth Strasser paid tribute to the treaty as an important contribution to the further expansion and contractual regulation of the favorable and constantly developing relations between the GDR and the Republic of Austria which received a particularly important boost from the state visit to Austria by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

The two sides are thus making a significant contribution in the current tense international situation in preserving and continuing detente and safeguarding peace.

Dr Herbert Kern, state secretary in the Ministry of Justice, also took part in the exchange of documents.

The treaty is to come into effect 1 June 1982.

ECONOMIC DELEGATION ENDS VISIT TO EGYPT

AU021236 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Mar 82 p 2

[Text] Cairo (ADN) -- On Sunday a GDR economic delegation headed by Heinz Warzecha, deputy minister of construction of machine tools and processing machinery, ended a 1-week visit to the Arab Republic of Egypt.

On Saturday the GDR minister was received by Minister of Planning Kamal Ahmad al-Janzuri. They discussed possibilities of further cooperation between the two countries.

During its visit the delegation also met with Minister of Industry Fu'ad Ibrahim Abu Zaghlah, other leading government representatives and Sa'id an-Nahi, governor of Alexandria. It visited a number of industrial enterprises which are equipped with GDR machines.

INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH IRAN

LD040054 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1724 GMT 2 Mar 82

[Text] Tehran, 2 Mar (ADN) -- At the end of the visit by a GDR industrial delegation headed by Deputy Minister of Heavy Machinery Construction and Installation Construction Egon Hempel to the Islamic Republic of Iran, an agreement on industrial cooperation between the two countries has been signed. The agreement includes projects in engineering, metallurgy, the cement industry, transportation and mining and also provides possiblities for the training of personnel.

ECONOMIC TALKS WITH MONGOLIAN MINISTER

AU011503 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Feb 82 p 2

[Summary] Berlin (ADN) -- On Thursday Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and chairman of the GDR section of the joint GDR-MPR Economic Commission, received for a talk on economic cooperation Dangaasurengiyn Saldan, minister and chairman of the State Committee for Economic Relations Abroad of the MPR. The talk focused on the tasks agreed between the governments of both countries in the fields of raw material economy, agriculture and the foodstuffs industry, veterinary science, light industry and geology. The partners in the talk praised the good results achieved so far and discussed further measures.

INTERIOR MINISTRY OFFERS EMIGRATION TO INTERNEES

LD031938 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] We have received a communique from the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Here are the contents:

In implementing the decision of the minister of internal affairs announced in the interview given to PAP, the passport office of the Ministry of Internal Affairs informs people about further relaxations in individual exchanges with other states. These relaxations will be implemented from 15 March 1982. From that day Polish citizens will be able to depart on an individual basis for tourist purposes to the European socialist countries. These trips will be organized by travel offices on the basis of purchased coupons which ensure maintenance in the host country.

As for states in the dollar zone, it is planned to allow the opportunity of taking part in group departures organized by Polish travel offices for the purpose of taking part in events of an international nature, in festivals, sports meetings and so on.

Foreigners, irrespective of group tours, may visit Poland on an individual basis for tourist purposes, taking advantage of public means of transport after obtaining a visa and purchasing coupons in Polish travel offices.

Persons interned in isolation centers who are interested in leaving Poland for good, and also members of their families, can make application to passport bodies for the issue of a passport. These applications will be examined on the generally binding principles in accordance with the requirements of the statute on passports dated 17 June, 1959.

CORRECTIONS, ADDITIONS TO JARUZELSKI ADDRESS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish, 25 Feb 82 pp 3-5 carries the 15,000 word report made by PZPR Central Committee First Secretary Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski at the 24 February session of the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum, thus allowing for the following corrections and additions to the item published in the Poland Section of the 25 Feb Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT pp 1-19, titled "Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum Opens 24 Feb" and subtitled "Jaruzelski Address":

Page G2, Sixth paragraph, the first two lines become: "...Washington is choosing a fierce course of confrontation.

Page G3, Second paragraph, ninth line, replace "[word indistinct]" with "a propaganda" and delete "[as heard]"

Page G3, fifth paragraph, last two lines, TRYBUNA LUDU version deletes the last sentence.

Page G4, first paragraph, line six change queried "of" to "and";

Page G4, the second paragraph, lines one through five become: "In the light of these experiences we must approach with much greater vigor and attention our natural markets in the socialist countries and the benefits stemming from the division of labor within CEMA. Similarly, cooperation with developing countries has not been fully appreciated. Many of these countries have experienced a neocolonialist boycott, which, in the case in Poland, they regard as even more strange."

Page G4, third paragraph, second line, remove the comma after "economic life" and change "including (?being)" to "as well as".

Same paragraph, fourth line replace queried words with "and to the";

Page G5, first paragraph, last two lines become: "...protesting. The spirit of liberum veto triumphed and the times of anarchy returned."

Page G 5, paragraph five, line one, the period after "of the economy" becomes a comma, and complete the sentence as follows: "against which successive blows were delivered. Each measure aimed..."

Page G 6, paragraph one, line two, "20,000" is corrected to 30,000;

Page G 9, paragraph five, last line, the final word "events" is replaced by the word "losses."

Page G 10, paragraph two, line two, replace "[word indistinct]" with 4,500;

Page G 11, paragraph four, third line, replace queried word with the word "fodder";

Same page, sixth paragraph, last two lines from the word "rubber," change to make read: "aluminium oxide and viscose cellulose."

Page G 13, first paragraph, line three, replace "[word indistinct]" with the word "Szarzyna";

Page G 15, paragraph one, line four, change "85" to "80";

Same page, paragraph seven, line two, change "240" to "249";

Same page, last paragraph, insert between lines three and four the following TRYBUNA LUDU additions:

An exceptional situation induced the Politburo to issue the instruction, which the comrades know, concerning party activities under martial law. The instruction was of a temporary nature. As a self-critical measure we have to state that we are too slow in alleviating its enactments -- that we are slower in this than in alleviating the individual curbs of martial law. We must urgently remedy this situation.

The party was, is and will be the leading force of the people, including the national armed forces of the Polish People's Republic. Martial law grants powers to the armed forces and imposes special duties on them. Harmonious cooperation between party bodies, administrative agencies and military authorities is the necessary prerequisite for rapidly and correctly solving specific problems.

The Military Council for National Salvation is composed of party members, as you know. We expect that the Central Committee will accept their activities in the seventh plenum resolution.

Page G 16, following paragraph four, TRYBUNA LUDU adds the following:

Comrades, one of the more important results of the work preceding the ninth party congress and its decisions was the increased role of the basic party organizations, in which the party continues its life as a collective body. The basic organizations are the party's backbone, scouting patrols and eyes.

To belong to the basic party organization, to be active in it and to be responsible to it is a distinction of the membership of the party of the Leninist type. It was no accident or mere formality that Lenin placed that principle at the very beginning of the party statute. It is only in the social democratic parties that membership is just membership. The communists are active above all in their basic party organizations, and this is also true of the members of the party authorities.

Unfortunately, we have noticed that some comrades in the party bodies, including central party bodies, are reluctant to engage in activities in their maternal basic party organizations.

We must remind those comrades with all severity that the lessons of the past few years must not be wasted. No function is immune from criticism and from the judgement pronounced by the basic party organization.

The past few weeks have also supplied us with proofs that when difficult problems come up basic party organizations like to use party control commissions to tackle them. Perhaps this is a convenient practice, but it certainly is short-sighted. Guarding the party statute and programs, these commissions continue to tackle the cases of serious ideological and political deviations and of crucial violations of moral norms, but they will not do the job of the basic party organizations and party executive bodies and committees. Passing the buck of difficult problems to the "top" or to the "wayside" is just a typical variation of opportunism, for which the party has paid such a high price.

Contact with daily life and efforts to constantly confront that which can be seen from above with that which can be seen from below are some of the key injunctions issued by the ninth congress. This injunction has now acquired concrete form to counter the trend toward ossification of party life. One such form is the meetings between members of the central leadership in the field with aktivs, rank-and-file party members and working people. This has nothing to do, of course, with specially arranged shows, of which there were so many in the past. The working meetings, including those at the places of work, are the most valuable because they promote genuine exchanges of views and information. We began this practice before the ninth party congress and then after the sixth party plenum. At present such meetings are less regular and are held mainly among the aktivs. We should return to the previous practice, and this concerns me as well. An avalanche of duties can be used as a partial excuse only.

We will continue to poll and sound out the views of the Central Committee members and of broad aktivs. When preparing this plenum, we took advantage of the first such poll, which proved to be very interesting and instructive material. In the future, we want to promote other forms of consultations as well, and to take advantage of the Central Committee's collective wisdom.

We continue to implement the ninth congress resolution on the activities of the problem commissions, which in a way constitute unceasing partial plenary sessions. They supply the party leadership and the Central Committee departments with evaluations and proposals, which we take into account during our daily work.

There are 15 problem commissions in action and they have held 42 sessions so far. Most of them do intensive work and have quite large achievements. The commission for women, which was set up by the sixth party plenum, has begun its work. In this difficult period the Polish women continue to support the burden of special concern for their homes and families. Many women combine family commitments with outside jobs. We sincerely value this and, especially, the role of our comrade women. Comrade Stanislawa Brewinska spoke about all that in most appropriate terms at the 7 January meeting at the Central Committee. She told us what it means for a party member to be among the people and to take care of the affairs of people and women.

The entire system of party life should shift toward the "bottom" and be closer to the basic sectors of that life. Among the most recent manifestations of that are the regional centers of party work, which are being set up.

The process of democratizing party life is irreversible, but we should remember that there is as much democracy as there is centralism. The elected bodies of all levels must be most consistent in discharging their statutory functions and use statutory powers.

We talk about guarantees, but let us also talk about an issue that is perhaps the most important one. All of us have been, so to speak, turned upside down on account of the crisis and difficult experiences. We will always remember this. We know with what wrath and severity the party has punished those who failed its trust. We will not forget -- we must never forget -- the just lesson that the worker party has given to various braggarts.

People evaluate socialism primarily from the viewpoint of the simplest daily issues. We will never be able to win over the people by any declaration or theory until they are convinced that the party is with them, that they need it every day and that it serves the country well and wisely. If workers have to work in a repair shop in water up to their knees, and if the soulless administration fails to respond to their protests, it is precisely the party that should protect them. If there is injustice or wrong in the distribution of apartments, in fixing bonuses, in trade or in offices, the Pole who works honestly should know that the party will defend him.

The party has paid a high price for work done from behind the desk, for being all too wise when it was necessary to listen and for indulging in ordering people about when it was necessary to convince. Party organizations and bodies should be sensitive to ordinary human fates, pay respect to every manifestation of sorrow and protect the weaker ones and those who are wronged, who have not been able to get through to the authorities with their problems and whose cries have never been heard.

How often people in our country feel resigned, helpless and perplexed. How many letters containing complaints and often justified claims reach the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers office.

Why there are still so many complaints? What action do party members take in administrative bodies, industry and various managing agencies? We should be more resolute in applying party sanctions against those who are sluggish and bureaucratic in their activity. Such issues are tackled only too seldom by control commissions.

Every party member should be active in some social organization, represent the party line in it and give a report of his activity to the parent basic party organization. This is the main way we should fulfill the party's leadership role in administration -- in parents' committees, residential committees, shop committees, in self-managing social organizations and in scientific and creative associations.

A greatly responsible role falls on party members in social control bodies and in the Citizens' Militia Voluntary Reserve [ORMO], and on councillors and lay court members. The statute demands that all party members relentlessly struggle against corrupt practices and dishonesty, also the kind of dishonesty which does not blow up into a great affair but to some extent slips into everyday practice.

We are the party of the workers class. As a result of the transformations that have taken place in Poland, the workers, including those in heavy industry, represent the largest social group. Together with the farmers they produce material wealth which determines the country's existence. They also display the most intense feeling for social justice.

The interest of the workers class presents values which the party must fight for. Fight is a word which is often overused, but in this case its use is extremely justified. The practices of social life constantly regenerate evil, inequality and injustice. We cannot expect evil to disappear once and for all; we must quite simply fight against it every day and everywhere -- as long as it exists.

Often, people's indignation is aroused more by bureaucratic stiffness, parasitism, speculation, corruption, getting rich without working for it, profits out of proportion to the amount of work put in and other pathological phenomena than by difficult living conditions. All workers and working people evaluate the party and our socialist state according to the effectiveness of our fight against these phenomena.

One does not have to be reminded of the activities we have already taken up in this sphere. They are bringing results which are known to public opinion. Here, the socialist state will show no weariness. We will be ruthless and consistent in overcoming criminal growths.

In the name of the Central Committee I wish to express my appreciation for my comrades-in-arms, the soldiers of the people's army, for whom martial law means considerably greater responsibilities. They are sparing no strength to carry out the tasks placed before them. They show high discipline, ideology and citizens' awareness.

I thank the militia and the security service for bringing about a marked decrease in the crime rate for the first time in many years by their activity. They have also made possible the discovery of many ominous espionage and criminal affairs.

Comrades! Organizational and ideological-political cohesion is a further condition for the party to regain its full identity and credibility in the eyes of the workers class.

Our party has been through an ordeal by fire. The mainstream of its life is homogeneous and its nucleus is compact. The rest is of minor importance.

Activity in extrastatutory forms manifested itself particularly in so-called horizontal structures. Independent of the intentions of some of those taking part, they weakened the party from the inside and created a platform for opportunistic and defeatist tendencies. Let us call the matter by its proper name: Further activity by these structures would have led sooner or later to the liquidation of the party.

Opportunism is, above all, vacillation, steering a devious course and passively adapting oneself to the current situation. It is bad when party people who are aware of the social effects of opportunism do not know how to oppose it. It is even worse when they re-examine Marxist-Leninist principles. It is the worst when they enter into agreement with the political opposition. As experience shows, the stream of opportunism brings about destruction in the ranks of the party, becomes an ally of antisocialist forces and constitutes a real threat.

The so-called forum and similar forms of activity outside the party also harm the party's business. Their participants are attempting to improve the party and to "criticize" it, acting outside its democratic structures. The party does not need this kind of help. Real Marxism-Leninism does not depend on verbal pyrotechnics, but proves itself only by means of actual practical social work and in its effectiveness in getting through to the masses and convincing them.

Nevertheless there is a varied background to these phenomena. We have to evaluate the strict doctrinarians, who never helped the party in anything, one way, and those who have the courage to defend the party among people and who oppose the pressures of opportunism in another way. There are still social circles today in which it is enough to make a public speech in defense of the party in order to earn the label "concrete."

It is time to end the splitting-up of the party into wings. There is room in our ranks for sincere, bold discussion and for a variety of views prior to adopting resolutions. There must be one joint aim. We may and must discuss the ways to achieve it. However, we cannot sway from our firm discipline in implementing resolutions, and we will not do so.

There is no room for factional activity. We must be completely clear about this. The party is neither a sect nor a debating society. The party speaks with one voice. Every party member and every party activist must be bound by full responsibility for what he says. The party has the word "united" in its title for historical reasons. These days this word must reflect a real union between forces and activities.

There can also be no return to the situation where many party members and even many organizations only chose to implement part of the resolutions of the party -- some chose this resolution and others that. Party resolutions cannot be implemented in bits and pieces, selectively and according to one's whims. The use of slander and the spread of libel and personal gossip is all the more intolerable.

Lenin wrote: "There is an objective logic in factional struggle which unavoidably leads even the best people, if they stick to the false function they have assumed, to assume a position which is really no different from demagogy devoid of principles."

It is essential for the Central Committee, during today's meeting, to adopt a stand on these matters so that it may be unanimously reflected in a resolution.

Comrades, our ideology is just one single ideology. There is also one socialism: Marxist-Leninist socialism. We want to construct such socialism, combining universal principles with the typical features of our Polish conditions. The adversary says that socialism is "incapable of reforming itself." This is not true. Socialism can be reformed in the best sense of the word. It can be reformed not along the lines of reformist capitulation, but along the lines of a continuous enrichment with new experiences and new content related to the successive stages of the development of social life.

Marxism-Leninism is a vital ideology, but why is it that for some of our people this truth sounds hollow, as something detached from reality?

The ideological neglect in the party is enormous, but the party is also hungry for ideology. If we fail to still this hunger we will make the party's regeneration more difficult. You cannot march forward without a compass.

We have not been able to demonstrate that Marxism is just interesting, stimulates independent thinking and provides answers to the questions the people ask themselves. The area of no man's land in the consciousness of the young generation has increased, and has been covered by weeds. Who knows, perhaps this is the reason for that frustration and ideological vacuum which the adversary invaded with such ease.

The superficial application of Marxism as a catchwood and citing the classic writers mainly for propaganda purposes is of no use. More than ever before we now need the wisdom of science. We expect that the party centers of theoretical work, Marxist scientists and specialists in social sciences will launch an offensive. State life and social practice have been little affected by their achievements. There are in the party still many unsolved theoretical problems, which have been intensified by the crisis of daily doubts.

In line with the fourth party plenum resolution we intend to convene the first all-Poland ideological-theoretical conference, which should help stimulate Marxist-Leninist theoretical reflections on present social reality and should provide incentives for research into ideological and sociopolitical problems now facing the party.

Society forms its views on party policy and its attitude toward the state on the strength of the behavior of the people who are the representatives to society of the party and the people's power. The quality of the cadres determines not only the quality of the decisions made to extricate Poland from its crisis, but also -- perhaps primarily -- the possibility for implementing these decisions.

Page G 16, paragraph 6, last two lines, delete comma after "improving them", and rephrase line to read: "... improving them and of subjecting them to consistent assessment which must be open and legible."

Page G 18, following the first paragraph, insert the following passages:

Comrades, the PZPR is responsible to Polish society as well as to the international communist and workers movement and to the world forces of progress for the fate of socialism.

We wish to express our sincere gratitude for the many proofs of proletarian internationalism shown to us by the overwhelming majority of the communist and workers parties in the world. This is all the more significant since the events in Poland, as interpreted by the bourgeois mass media, have made work and struggle difficult for many parties.

We want to thank the CPSU and the parties of the fraternal socialist countries for their responsible and prudent attitude to the events in Poland. These parties respected our party's right to evaluate the extent of the danger threatening us and to choose the methods of countering it. Nor have they given up their own interpretation of the individual stages of the political struggle in Poland. The solution we adopted met with understanding, which is valuable reaffirmation of the principles of the international workers movement, and proof that the countries of the socialist community are sovereign.

We have always championed complete equality in relations among parties. We stick to the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of the other communist parties. Unfortunately, some parties in Western Europe did not show that they were willing to have understanding for the special circumstances of our difficult situation.

This, in our view, is what the PCI leadership has done. We are particularly sad because of the fact that the PCI has used false information and has not asked us to provide detailed explanations.

No doubt, as time goes by, all the parties will understand the true background of the events in Poland and will appreciate our party's contribution to the common cause of progress and of the struggle against imperialism. On our part we declare our readiness to provide the necessary information and to engage in meaningful party discussions.

Page G 18, paragraph 10, last three lines make sentence read: "Both prompt serious and profound reflection, because both recall that which is universal in socialism and those specific features of our national traditions that our generations have introduced into socialism."

PZPR'S OLSZOWSKI GIVES SPEECH ON MARTIAL LAW

LD032300 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2140 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Speech given by Stefan Olszowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, at the plenary session of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Skierniewice on 3 March -- recorded]

[Text] The vital need to consolidate the party on the basis of Marxism, of restoring strength and permanence to the links with society, and above all with its own class, with the working class, is urgent. A workers' party cannot be an organization which confines its existence to internal meetings and its interest to internal problems. We were and are the political movement of the working class.

The working class movement organized itself in order to change life. Drawing its strength from Marxist-Leninist ideas, working out in discussion the tactics and strategy of the party, analyzing reality scientifically, it directed its attention always toward the main task: The reconstruction and change of class structures, which negated the principle of social justice.

In the new worker-peasant states it initiated, jointly created and led the fight to build conditions to ensure its lasting application. A party which, regardless of the intentions and declarations of its members and cadres, isolates itself in practice from direct participation in life, whether out of fear of the blows of the enemy or out of bad habits of administrative methods of operation, can only expect society to isolate itself from it as well; and then, in place of a workers' party, other non-Marxist forces will enter.

What is the situation is our country and our party? On 13 December last year a state of martial law was introduced in Poland, in a -- and I stress this -- fully legal way, in accordance with the directive and intention of the resolutions of the fourth and sixth Central Committee plenums.

On the threshold of the fatherland which is our home stood the Polish Army, led by General Wojciech Jaruzelski.

This Polish Army barred the way to the counterrevolution. This is why all communists support this stop and will support it. This was confirmed in full by the seventh Central Committee plenum in all its deliberations and in the adopted resolution.

The introduction of martial law occasioned positive consequences. There have also been phenomena exacerbating the immediate conditions governing Poland's everyday living conditions. What is certain is the fact that internal calm has prevailed. This has been caused by the smashing of the nucleus of the counterrevolutionary cadre and by the thwarting of its political plans leading to a fratricidal war. True, individual citizens' rights had to be restricted temporarily, but the citizens have gained genuine personal safety. There has also been an increasingly visible growth in the normalization of work in the economy, above all a speeding up in the rate of the extraction of raw materials, and particularly coal.

On 13 December two periods closed forever: First the anarchy of anticommunism which was spreading before this date, and second, the pre-August methods of activity which in their consequences ran counter to the interests of working people, of the party and of socialism.

The fundamental reforms mapped out by the extraordinary ninth congress and confirmed in the speeches by General Wojciech Jaruzelski on behalf of the Military Council for National Salvation in the Sejm and at the seventh Central Committee plenum will be carried out in accordance with the development of the situation in Poland. The economic process in the conditions of the economic reform will cause various consequences including the strengthening of democracy and the self-government of the whole of society. Legislative work is in full swing in many fields, for example, in the people's council, territorial self-management, the trade unions and labor law. The broadening of authentic forms of socialist democracy does not mean a loss of its class contents.

The main reason for last year's deepening of the economic crisis was the activity of anti-socialist groups which, demolishing the foundations of production, wanted the edifice of our state to collapse. Therefore there cannot be any room for illusions concerning a place in our system for an anticommunist opposition, either in the economic, social or the political sphere. Socialist reforms, the democratization of social relations, accord among patriots, will not open the gates to hostile forces. The time has passed irrevocably. For Polish patriots there is no turning back from the principle whose correctness has been confirmed by history, that the only path toward the consolidation of independence, of the sovreign existence and prestige of the contemporary Polish state, is today and in the future the strengthening of its close and friendly relations with neighbors, with the socialist ideolpolitical, economic and military community.

We derive our internationalism from the best libertarian and patriotic, progressive traditions of the Polish nation. At the same time we derive it from our ideology. This is class internationalism, which the international workers' movement -- including our party, which is a link in it -- has named proletarian internationalism. It is expressed in particular in the attitude toward the fraternal CPSU, the party of Lenin, and in the consolidation of Polish-Soviet friendship and alliance, needed by both nations and states, which constitutes the most important guarantee of the permanent independence, territorial integrity and security of Poland.

Our links with the Soviet Union are inviolable and the party firmly opposes all attempts to weaken them. The internationalism of our party and also of the socialist Polish state lies in the strengthening of the entire community of socialist states, of their political and defense alliance, of the Warsaw Treaty and in the development of the activity of the Council of Economic Mutual Aid. These questions have found particularly elogquent expression in the course and results of the Polish People's Republic state and party visit to Moscow, just concluded on 2 March. The talks between Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski and Comrade Leonid Brezhnev brought important new specific impulses to Polish-Soviet cooperation, particularly in the political and economic sphere.

Polish-Soviet working groups are currently studying the specification of sectors in which Soviet aid is essential to the rhythmic operation of Polish industry. So it is not by chance that we read in the Polish-Soviet communique published today that the Polish side expressed profound gratitude for the political and economic aid which the Soviet Union is giving in a period of difficulty for it. Particular stress is placed on the vital significance for the national economy of stable Soviet deliveries of fuels, raw materials, installations and products within the framework of industrial coproduction, and other articles, particularly when, as a result of the activity of antisocialist forces, such considerable damage was done to Poland.

In the course of the talks there was discussion of the prospects for Polish-Soviet economic contacts. Both Poland and the Soviet Union have at their disposal great industrial and scientific-technical potential and rich natural resources and highly-qualified cadres. In the process of building socialism positive conditions have been created for the development of mutually advantageous cooperation in many key branches of industry and the relevant agreements have been signed.

These matters will be continued further in mutual cooperation. Poland is not alone, as it was in 1939. Poland was, is and will be a socialist state and nation. It formulates the directions of its policy and determines its model of life in an independent and sovereign manner, in accordance with its own long-term interests and recommendations, and this will not be changed either by political threats and blackmail, or by propaganda and subversive aggression. Under pressure from the American administration, the governments of the West European states are being urged to change their previous links with socialist Poland.

As a nation we value sovereignty on a level with others. Particularly today we observe with close attention its manifestations in those states which formulate toward Poland a realistic attitude which is quite different from the American one. And of course we regard such an attitude, and any manifestations of such an attitude, with great respect.

The normalization of life in Poland, which is the result of the introduction of martial law, and the revival of the economy have resulted in increased social support for the Military Council of National Salvation and for General Wojciech Jaruzelski, the civic forces concentrated in the civic committees of national salvation give expression to this in this way. [as heard] The name of these committees is not important. The content of their action is important, a content striving in the direction of renewal.

The healing processes taking place in the party are restoring the significance of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the universal laws and goals of socialism. Nonetheless, the situation in our ranks is still complex, despite the fact that the class basis of the party has not been shaken. First, the ideological confusion, caused by an outbreak of a broadly based conflict, and next the accumulation of the wave of counterrevolution, in the party gave rise to forces which, devoid of Marxist-Leninist knowledge or subjected to the influences of anarcho-syndicalist or utterly bourgeois concepts, were easily prone to suggestions emerging from the centers which politically governed Solidarity. The seeds of opportunist and rightwing concepts fell on this soil.

Second, the social demagogy of Solidarity, the forced pay increases and the premature reduction of work time, were interpreted by some circles as a real success for working people, whereas in actual fact this became one of the causes of the deepening of chaos in the economy and the market. False assessments appeared, that the emergence of Solidarity was the guarantee of positive changes. Naivety and ideological submissiveness caused some comrades to lose their way, and they even handed in their party cards. Participation in strikes, later occurring more and more under the pressure of blackmail and falsely conceived solidarity with colleagues, became a form of breaking loyalty toward one's own party. Yet membership in Solidarity ought to have meant struggle for its working-class and trade-union character.

Third, the pressure of the anticommunist attacks had and still partly has a part in weakening the unity and strength of our ranks. Actions of a factional nature and openly rightwing and opportunist and also primitively dogmatic actions have added to this. The clash of differeing policy concepts in the party until recently still caused confusion, which was heightened by the fact that the pressure of events provoked by the adversary occasionally changed correct decisions and the (?daily) course of political practice.

Radio subversion, Solidarity's subversion through pamphlets and the press and attempts to oust the party from factories influenced the psychological attitude of party members. This confusion is ebbing away today. The political atmosphere is being purified and is stabilizing.

In the process of cleansing ourselves and in the process of the struggle against counter-revolution and for the consolidation of socialism in Poland we can achieve and will achieve a situation when we shall again become an active political organization of workers, a party guided by moral dictates and ideals the main aim of which is social justice, the welfare of working people and the triumph of authentic socialism in our country. The most important thing today is the understanding that the word "party" signifies an incessant struggle for deeds to tally with words.

SEJM HEARS REPORT ON REFORM BILLS 26 FEB

AU021800 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27-28 Feb 82 p 3

[PAP report on speech by Sejm Deputy Zbigniew Gertych at the 26 February session of the Polish Sejm in Warsaw: "Our Aim Is To Promptly Regain Economic Equilibrium"]

[Text] On the authority of three Sejm commissions -- the Commission for Workers Self-Management in Enterprises, the Commission for Legislative Work, and the Commission for the Economic Plan, Budget and Finances -- I have the honor to present to you the results of the work on the eight government bills on the economic reform. Together with the bills on state enterprises and on workers self-management groups, these eight bills constitute the legislative foundations of the economic reform and its guarantees. The work in question lasted for 3 months. The objective economic, social and political needs and the assurances given by Gen W. Jaruzelski, chairman of the Military Council for National Salvation, that the Ninth PZPR Congress line and the economic reform would be continues, induced us to accelerate the work on the legal guarantees for renewing Poland's social structures and mechanisms as well as economy. Experts were invited to share in our work and social organizations -- professional and scientific -- and state institutions were asked to supply opinions and proposals. We made efforts to take into consideration the proposals submitted directly by enterprises and society. The number of such opinions, proposals, letters, memoranda and petitions attests to the enormous importance attached by our society to economic reform. This is because our people see in the reform a vision of a modern and effective economy and an opportunity to extricate the ecountry from its crisit. In the course of our intensive work we have made various changes, some of them most crucial.

The Commission for the Economic Plan, Budget and Finances received a letter from the Commission for Mining, Energy and Chemistry, questioning the scope of the economic reform and the deadline for its implementation under conditions in Poland. Also, some circles and communities have lately demanded that the introduction of the economic reform should be halted.

Since the political interests of socialist renewal were restated by Gen W. Jaruzelski's historic speech at the Seventh Central Committee Plenum, I will recall just its socio-economic aspects. Our methods of running and managing the national economy did not change as our economic potential continued to increase, and this is why large-scale tensions and disproportions arose in our economy, and the country had to experience an unprecedented crisis, which was intensified by objective and subjective conditions.

Mechanisms of Management

The primary distinctive feature of the command-and-assignment system [system nakazowo-rozdzielczy] was the far-reaching curbs on the independence of enterprises. This system was also characterized by a lack of motivation, which was replaced by directives and administrative procedures. It did not produce effective institutional and social control, and did not ensure that citizens could feel that they really participated in the country's development. Our crisis was also caused by the inadequate socialization of the processes of economic management and by so-called economic voluntarism.

The present socioeconomic crisis and sociopolitical changes call for the use of new effective mechanisms and modern structures to overcome the crisis.

Also as an expression of socialist renewal, the economic reform has raised hopes for a modern economic management, for its increases effectiveness and for overcoming the crisis.

In social consciousness, the economic reform is inseparably linked to the issue of changes in economic policy, which must continue to seek to overcome the crisis by all means and to regain economic equilibrium. The state's economic policy must also create favorable conditions for the efficient performance of enterprises, and must ensure that this performance is consistent with general social tasks.

Changes in the Model of our Economy is a Continuous Process

Changing the model of our economy is not a single operation; it is a comprehensive process, which must take place over a longer period of time.

We must all have enough time to get used to the new rules of the game and mechanisms, and to new structures. We must learn to use them. Economic laws bring to light such mechanisms, but such laws -- as all laws -- are tough and ruthless and their action is automatic whether we like it or not. However, we must bear in mind that a sudden shift to extensively respecting the tough economic laws would be excessively tiresome for many social groups, and this is also why the implementation of the entire economic reform will have to take several years.

The first changes which concern prices, for example, have shown that the initial phase of the economic reform involves the need for sacrifices. That is why right now we must use the solutions that protect the families with the lowest earnings until the reform allows us to raise the standards of living for all our people on the basis of increased productivity.

While the economic reform is expected to be comprehensively implemented in its general assumptions, its implementation may vary from sphere to sphere on account of specific instrumental solutions and modified management.

The fact that the draft legal regulations are pioneering in nature worldwide is also in favor of the closely watched implementation of the economic reform. The concept of the economic reform is a construction that has not been verified by life at the level of the state. The experience of other countries also shows that the implementation of economic reforms took several years.

We must bear in mind that the production structures developed over many years cannot be changed from day to day. This is quite obvious in the attempts at bending the market to the present structures of production instead of adapting production to society's most urgent needs.

I also want to draw your attention to the fact that the conditons now prevailing in our country help intensify uncertainty with regard to the correctness of the proposed solutions. This is why we will have to attempt to evaluate after a time the legal acts now adopted in order to eliminate whatever has failed to pass the test of life.

The Need for Prudent Activity

All the aforementioned observations stress the need for consistent and prudent activities when implementing the reform, and for treating it as a managed, controlled and analyzed process which can be modified in line with general social interests.

The reform can be effectively implemented only under conditions of the necessary calm and social and economic equilibrium. It therefore seems that martial law has created such necessary conditions, ensuring elementary social and labor discipline which are a must when such profound changes in structures and mechanisms are made.

The Formula for Justified Costs

The government bill on prices has been crucially changed in that the document has been separated into two legal enactments: one on prices and one of the setting up of the price office, which will replace the present State Price Commission. The so-called formula for costs produced many reservations during the discussion of the price development. The proposal that prices should be based on the so-called average costs was not accepted. On the other hand, the so-called formula for justified cost was accepted. Although this term is not very exact, it is more in line with the intentions of the economic reform and raises a certain barrier to costs that are not justified economically and socially.

Three categories of prices have been created: the permanent official prices, the regulated prices, and the conventional prices. The system of control and the system of taxation, which is based on progression and which prevents producers from obtaining excessive profits -- both these systems are incorporated in the bills -- act as brakes on excessive increases in prices and on the practice of including waste in costs.

The commissions ask the honorable house to adopt the list of the goods that should be subjected to official prices. The list includes the basic articles of consumption and services that are of basic significance for the production costs of consumer and capital goods. It also includes the basic farm produce procured by the units of the socialized economy. The Sejm's share in working out the list is of crucial importance for protecting society's interests, especially its living standards. Many of the articles in question will be subsidized.

The bill on the fiscal economy of state enterprises crucially curbs the number of compulsory funds created in enterprises, which will have the duty to make compulsory payments into the so-called reserve fund, whose aim is to meet possible losses; into the development fund, which is made of amortization and a share of profits; and into the social and housing funds.

The issue of the impact that the provisions of the bills would have on enterprises and work forces was extensively discussed. One element in this connection is the possibility for setting up the so-called work force fund, whose assets will be used to provide additional wages for all employees. However, the size of such a fund depends on the size of the profits of the individual managements and work forces, and on their policy.

The bill on the fiscal economy stipulates that enterprises independently fix the size of the wage funds in line with their fiscal potentials. This is a very crucial change in the present system, which used the device of wage limits. Aside from the directive wage tables and schedules, the so-called load on increases in the average wages will act as the chief regulator of and a brake on an excessive increase in wages, one that boosts inflation. Not increases in prices, but only increases in productivity and improvements in production quality can be regarded as a source of increases in nominal and real wages.

The bill on taxation for the units of the socialized economy curbs the range of taxation with the turnover and income tax and on wages and fixed assets.

During the debate, attention was drawn to a very obvious fiscal nature of the bill and to the fact that it is too modest in producing incentives for rational economy in enterprises. On the other hand, anxiety was expressed lest the size of the collected taxes do not ensure adequate income for the budget and will not help balance it. This calls for further work to achieve a budget balance and great skills in administering tax concessions.

The bill on powers to engage in foreign trade creates possibilities for enterprises to directly participate in the international division of labor. The bill sets up criteria by which enterprises are granted licenses for that purpose with a view to protecting state interests in relations with foreign countries. The bill also improves cooperation between foreign firms and domestic enterprises.

The bill on the banking law and on granting a statute to the Polish National Bank regulates two basic spheres of banking activity -- the macroeconomic, which involves the shared development of money-market policy and countering the trends toward undermining the global economic equilibrium; and the microeconomic, which involves representation of the general social interests vis-a-vis enterprises, and the definition of the conditions under which credits are granted and of all the aspects of agreed cooperation with enterprises. The Polish National Bank has been obliged to present to the Sejm a credit plan, a balance sheet of the populations' cash incomes and expenditures, and the plan for the issue of banknotes on this basis. This is a new thing and it will increase the control functions of the Sejm, which up to now could inspect the budget and the state's balance of payments only.

The implementation of the statistics bill will provide a solid information base for correctly developing our socioeconomic strategy.

The Socialist Character of Planning

The bill on socioeconomic planning unambiguously defines the socialist character of planning in our country as a method of concerting and expressing the will of society with regard to the aims and lines of the country's development.

The general convergence of the enterprise plans with the central plan will be achieved primarily through the use of economic devices. The 5-year national socioeconomic plan will play the leading role. The legal guarantees for the socialization of the process by which plans are drawn up and by which their implementation is controlled are the basic feature of the new system of planning. This is seen in the definitions of the forms and procedures by which representative bodies at all levels, political organizations, trade unions, social organizations, and scientific institutes and communities participate in drawing up the plans.

The bills seek to increase the Sejm's role in making strategic decisions, and to ensure its share in choosing the concept for the country's development. This will be aided by the Sejm's examination of various alternatives of the multiannual plan before the final draft of the national socioeconomic plan is ready. The bill obliges the government to present to the Sejm the central annual plans together with the state budget, so that views can be expressed on their agreement with the multiannual plan and the state budget.

In conclusion, I wish to state that the bills presented to the Sejm will help Poland overcome its crisis, regain economic equilibrium more quickly and develop it in the future.

However, legal enactments alone are not enough. Only their consistent implementation and the people's intensive and dedicated efforts will be able to ensure prosperity for our society and a proper place in the family of nations for Poland.

DEPUTY MINISTER JUSTIFIES MARTIAL LAW LEGALITY

LD032146 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] A government press conference took place today on the theme "The Law in the Period of Martial Law." It was conducted by Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban and journalists' questions were answered by Deputy Zdzislaw Czeszejko-Sochacki, chairman of the Main Board of the Association of Polish Lawyers; and Stanislaw Kolodzietj, general secretary of the Association of Polish Lawyers.

We present an excerpt of this conference. Listen to what Deputy Justice Minister Maria Regent-Lechowicz said on the subject of martial law from the viewpoint of Poland's international legal commitments:

[Begin recording] Poland is a party to numerous conventions of international law and, in relation to martial law, which has various names in other states -- emergency situation, state of emergency -- the main [word indistinct] document of international law, which would have to be analyzed in detail here, is the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, which, as is known, was founded jointly with Poland and was ratified by Poland.

The wording of this agreement allows the possibility of member states declaring a state of emergency, as well as making it possible for them to suspend or restrict given civil rights defined in the international convention. In all its activity Poland closely observes the fundamental principles of international law which regulate relations among states and the principles of [word indistinct]. The introduction of martial law in Poland, which has resulted in the temporary suspension or restriction of a number of fundamental civic rights, takes into consideration the limits of admissibility of suspending civil rights accepted in the international convention.

I would also like to draw attention to the fact that Article 4 of the International Convention imposes on signatory states the obligation to notify the secretary general of the UN organization of the fact of declaration of martial law and to indicate the scale of restriction or suspension of civil rights.

Poland fulfilled this obligation without delay. Poland's permament UN Representative Ambassador Wyzner immediately reported this to former General Secretary Kurt Waldheim and subsequently submitted a document of notification.

Analysis of the regulations issued as a consequence of declaring martial law indicates that the introduction of this law does not violate the accepted international commitments concluded by us, all these commitments [word indistinct] are being carried out by Poland in good faith.

I would also like to state that regarding the range of restrictions, Poland has applied the lowest level of restrictions envisaged for such a state and, as we know this level is being systematically lowered.

If we approach the matter from another angle, that is from the point of view of the legal correctness of the motivation and of the acivities undertaken against Poland and the Soviet Union in connection with the imposition of martial law, then I would like to emphasize that the principle of sovereigr equality, elaborated in a number of UN documents, is binding. This has also been formulated in the CSCE Final Act which says that states are to respect each other's sovereignty and those which are encompassed by it, including in particular the right of each state to define itself freely and to develop a political, social and economic and cultural system as well as the right to adopt acts of law and regulations.

If then we take a look at the whole campaign directed against Poland and if we take into account the economic restrictions which are not legal, for Poland has not breached international law by the imposition of martial law, then it has to be said that everything going on around Poland, including the attempt to internationalize the Polish issue, is illegal in international relations and international law as it breaches two fundamental points: the principles of sovereign equality and the principle of noninterference in internal affairs, because Poland, as Poland, as a sovereign and independent state, has the right, which is inscribed in the Charter and which is echoed in other documents, to define its own path of development and its own sociopolitical and cultural secture.

I would like here to refer also to very valuable documents which have been elaborated by the UNESCO, defining the cooperation of states in shaping peaceful and friendly relations. There is a whole pile of documents and declarations citing information recommending that another nation should never be denigrated.

If, in the light of these legal acts, which constitute the creation of a new vision of international relations, we take a look at what is happening around Poland then we can sum it up as follows: Poland is observing the principle contained in the (?Fernand treaty). The decisions adopted by the Polish Government and the Council of State are in accordance with the internal law and with Poland's international commitments. Poland has fulfilled its duty by notifying the imposition of martial law. The decisions which have been adopted against Poland, on the other hand, breach the fundamental principles of international law, the development of which is expressed in international law enactments from the San Francisco conference to the latest 26th session of the UN General Assembly. [end recording]

More on Press Conference

LD031734 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1505 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] Let us examine the law in the period of martial law [stan wojenny] -- not the law of martial law, but law in the period of martial law. There is a colossal difference, and not just in the wording. The legal system in our country is functioning in the same way and is the same as it was in the period prior to 13 December. Thus 13 December did not mark the beginning of some new law. Only regulations supplementing the already existing law were introduced -- the law as it was, is and will be, when martial law is lifted, too.

All this was spoken about at today's government press conference, and examples were cited. First and foremost, the broad and profound process of legislative transformations which can be observed in our country was pointed out. The Sejm has already adopted and is working on further bills which will be in force when the conditions of our life have normalized. There are no kangaroo courts in our country. All trials, including those conducted under summary proceedings are open, and their outcome is under social control, obviously, all defendants have a guaranteed right to a defense, including under summary proceedings. Ninety percent of them use this right to choose their defense counsel themselves. So far as concerns the punishments which are meted out, part of the community is of the opinion that they are too severe, others that they are too liberal. The independence of courts is fully observed.

The next issue discussed at today's conference was the corespondence of the declaration of martial law with the system of internal and international law. It was explained once again that, in accordance with the Article 33 of the Constitution, the Council of State had the right to declare martial law, despite the fact that a Sejm session was in progress. Limiting the powers of the Council of State only to a period when the Sejm is not in session applies to the declaration of the state of war [stan wojny]. Our constitution differentiates between these two legal and factual states and speaks of them in two different paragraphs of Article 33.

In view of this, was the Council of State entitled to issue the decree on martial law? There is no mention of this in the Constitution, and decrees can be issued only in periods between Sejm session. No doubt it could have issued an order in this matter, but the point was for this act to be given an appropriate status. On the other hand it is difficult to imagine the Council of State declaring martial law without executive acts which would make it possible to implement it practically, or confining itself merely to the declaration itself.

There is no entry in the Constitution on this issue since its authors did not imagine that martial law would really have to be introduced in practice one day in our country. The bill on the creation of law, on which the Sejm is working at the moment, will unambiguously resolve all these generalizations and gray areas. At its session in January the Sejm granted the status of law to the decrees of the Council of State.

As for legality in the light of international law, Poland ratified the international covenant on civic and political rights. We read in Article 4: If an exceptional public danger is jeopardizing the existence of the nation and has been officially announced, countries of the above may covenant take steps aimed at suspending the obligations arising out of the covenant to whatever extent closely corresponds to the requirements of the situation. A so-called notification of martial law, or state of emergency, that is informing other states about this, is also required. Poland made this notification on the second day after the declaration of martial law via the UN secretary general.

Thus, the introduction of martial law did not violate the international obligations entered into by Poland. Deputy Justice Minister Maria Regent-Lechowicz, chairman of the Association Of Polish Lawyers; and Deputy Zdzislaw Czeszejko-Sochacki participated in the government press conference.

JABLONSKI CHAIRS MEETING OF APPEALS COMMISSION

LD031934 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] Another session of the Presidium of the Appeals Commission of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress was held in Warsaw today. The session was conducted by Professor Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Appeals Commission and chairman of the Council of State.

The Commission Presidium sized up the state of the work being done by commission teams in individual voivodships. Five hundred and nine appeals have been examined; of this number 111 persons have regained the right to party membership and 55 have been credited with the number of years they spent in the party and have been permitted to rejoin the PZPR.

Matters pertaining to appeals to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress have been completed in 20 voivodships. They will have been examined in the remaining voivodships. They will have been examined in the remaining voivodships by the end of March.

The Presidium also familiarized itself with how ministries, voivodship offices and various institutions justified their rejections of complaints and requests sent to the Ninth PZPR Congress. It was decided that certain rejections given to citizens, although legally justified, are formulated in a formal and stiff manner which is not always clear to the person involved. Instances were also established of complaints being sent to those bodies and persons against whom they were drawn up.

Proceedings from the premise that every complaint sent to the congress should be examined thoroughly, the Presidium sent a dozen or so back for thorough reexamination by the appropriate leaderships of ministries and institutions. It has been decided that the next session will discuss the remaining answers to the complaints and grievances that are still being examined.

REPORTAGE OF PZPR LEADERSHIP ACTIVITIES

Mokrzyszczak in Leszno

LD032212 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] The tasks of party organizations and echelons in the current sociopolitical and economic situation stemming from the resolution of the seventh PZPR Central Committee plenum were the subject of deliberations by the Leszno Party Voivodship Committee. Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee participated in the meeting.

During the course of deliberations an analysis of the political and economic situation in Leszno Voivodship was made. Assessing the situation before 13 December last year, it was stated that the range of negative phenomena in Leszno Voivodship was much smaller and much less acute compared to other regions. Nevertheless, they were felt even here.

It was a period of disquiet, it was stated. It was a period of intense political struggle and of disorganization of the activities of the authorities. It was a period of attacking the party, government and social system. A drop in production was observed and its dynamism was lowered. Productivity dropped. However, even during this difficult period this was not the case everywhere.

Positive results are [word indistinct] in, among other things, construction industry and in agriculture. At present the voivodship party organization has concentrated its attention on the issue of rebuilding the authority of the party and on the issue of consolidation of its ranks.

There are over 40 civic committees of national salvation actively working in the voivodship and there are some more in the process of coming into being.

During the course of the discussion attention was paid to many important problems connected with the activity of party organizations, above all among workers and in the rural milieus. One of the participants in the discussion drew attention to the specific undertakings of party organizations which are helping to persuade workers to implement the programme defined at the Ninth PZPR Congress and at the Seventh PZPR Central Committee plenum.

The [word indistinct] resolution defined the fundamental directions of activity, emphasizing that the work of the party organizations and echelons should be concentrated, among other things, on supporting activities of the Military Council of National Salvation and on active participation in the implementation of the resolutions of the party Central Committee the Sejm and the government and also on the issue of consolidation of primary party cells from within, maintaining a strong link with work forces and on the effective implementation of the economic reform.

Romanik at Siemianowice Mine

LD032240 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] The Siemianowice coal mine hosted a conference today of the first secretaries of the departmental and primary party organizations. The meeting was attended by Jerzy Romanik, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and a miner from this mine. The activity of the party organizations in the light of the resolutions of the seventh plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, the perfecting of the forms of party work, the shape of the future trade unions, matters pertaining to social benefits, and the principles of the economic reform were discussed.

LEGNICA PZPR, ZSL COMMITTEES HOLD JOINT SESSION

LD031946 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] The Legnica PZPR and ZSL Voivodship Committees held a joint plenary session today at which the directions of the region's agricultural and food industry development were discussed. Zbigniew Michalek, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and Jozef Koziol, member of the PResidium and secretary of the Supreme Committee of the ZSL, participated in the deliberations. The joint plenum appealed to farmers and agricultural producers in Legnica Voivodship to work effectively and with a sense of devotion to guarantee continued supplies of grain, meat, milk and other agricultural products. The participants also adopted a joint resolution defining the most important current tasks in the development of the region's agriculture and food industry.

ZSMP SPONSORS CONFERENCE ON ROLE OF YOUTH

LD032034 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] An ideological conference devoted to the subject of the place and role of young people in socialist society, organized by the main board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] began in Jachranka near Warsaw today. The conference is an important stage in preparing the organization for the next plenum of the ZSMP Main Board. The conference is also important because it will collate the most important suggestions and opinions of ZSMP members submitted during the discussion that has been going on for some time on the question: What sort of Poland and what sort of ZSMP? The point of departure for the debate during the conference are reports on the sociopolitical foundations of young people, their role in the social life of Poland and on the prospects of the young generation.

COURTS SENTENCE MORE STRIKE ORGANIZERS

Silesian Court Action

LD032156 Warsaw PAP in English 2022 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Mar (PAP) -- The court of Silesian Military District passed verdicts on a dozen-odd strong group of organizers of illegal strike at the Borynia colliery in Jastrzeoie Zdroj on 14-18 December, 1981.

Ryszard Bedkowski was sentenced to 4 and a half years' imprisonment, Jozef Grembowski to 3 and a half years, and Krzysztok Zaniwski to 3 years in jail. Eight other persons received sentences ranging from 2 to 1 year in jail, with two of the prison terms suspended. Ryszard Bedkowski and Jozef Grembowski were additionally punished with a suspension of civil rights for three years, while the rest of the accused -- for two years. The court refrained from meting out punishment to one of the defendants, and dropped charges against another, stating that the charges were not within the terms of reference of military courts.

Lublin Students Sentenced

LD032034 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] The trial of Jaroslaw K. and Jerzy R. at the Lublin Voivodship Court has ended. They are 4th-year students in the Department of Law and Administration at the Marie Curie-Sklodowska University in Lublin. They were charged for their activities last December, after the declaration of martial law, when they and other persons set up a college strike committee and subsequently led a sit-in strike at the university residence halls. The court waived the application of summary proceedings and sentenced the two accused to 2 years' deprivation of liberty suspended for 4 years and put them under the supervision of the college authorities for this period. The sentence is subject to appeal.

ANTISPECULATION OFFICIAL ON BLACK MARKETEERING

LD031416 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Mar (PAP) -- Speculation is one of the crimes best understood by the population, especially by people with the lowest incomes. Wladyslaw (Trzaska), deputy chairman of the Central Commission for Combatting Speculation was interviewed by a PAP journalist about the problems of combatting the 'black market.'

The Central Commission for Combatting Speculation, formed 10 October 1981, and later the voivod and local commissions, have been engaged primarily in improving the system of combatting this dangerous phenomenon, and also in coordinating the activity of various establishments which are obliged, in accordance with their statutes, to act in this sphere. I should also like to stress the significant role of military operational groups.

In September 1981, the Sejm adopted a law on combatting speculation. Because of this, the efficiency of control services has increased. It has also meant the intensification of sanctions for some crimes and the introduction of accountability for actions of a speculative nature, which formerly were not punishable. After the introduction of martial law, a new situation arose. At first, criminal activity decreased. However, this situation lasted only a short time; at the end of December, illegal trading in goods which had been accumulated earlier by speculators developed.

Everything points to the fact that in 1982 factors will appear in the national economy that will contribute to speculation. The possibility of a weakening of state control over the activity of enterprises in the first period of the introduction of economic reform must be taken into account, as must an increase in the number of persons temporarily unemployed and the unstable domestic market, causing an uncontrollable shift in prices. Therefore, prophylactic activity is essential, as well as the continuation of the struggle against crime.

W. (Trzaska) stated: It frequently occurs that shop assistants conceal a significant quantity of goods in their apartments, designating them for speculative purposes or for protectionist sale. Another problem is the way in which the retail trade network is conducted.

W. (Trzaska) noted in conclusion: Improved trade turnover, the struggle against new forms of illegal trading which have arisen as a result of changes in the economy, and the creation of possibilities of wide-ranging participation of the population in the struggle against crime are the main directions of activity in the struggle against speculation. The commissions are devoting much attention to coordinating and reviving the institution of professional control. The improvement of its efficiency and the correct realization of conclusions made after the institution of professional control are primarily envisaged. Depending on requirements, the commissions will organize regional or all-Polish operation with the aim of controlling goods which are particularly subject to speculation.

TRYBUNA LUDU ON NEED FOR TRADE WITH WEST

LD032106 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] Today's TRYBUNA LUDU published an extensive article by Krystyna Szelestowska entitled: "Politics and Interests". It deals with Poland's economic cooperation with the West. The author says, among other things:

Decisions have recently been made in London, Tokyo, and Ottawa to use the so-called individual restrictions against the USSR and Poland. These steps have been taken under strong pressure from Washington. Reports are arriving from the White House about the preparation of new and stronger sanctions against Poland, the USSR and other socialist countries.

The author goes on to say: Does all this imply breaking off our cooperation with the West which has stood for many years, as well as of contacts with traditional trade partners? Does all this mean also that the industrialists, businessmen and bankers will turn their backs on us?

Despite the sharp anti-Polish campaign it would be very rash to make such conclusions. There is no unanimous view about conducting an anti-Polish policy among the Western governments and even less so among the financial and industrial circles. Some governments and the majority of economic circles, bearing in mind their own interests, obey Washington in a restrained manner.

Poland, with its geographic position, industrial potential and 36-million strong population, has been and still is an important trade partner of many Western countries. This is clearly demonstrated by the statements of bankers, economists, and by Western press reaction.

Poland is vitally interested in continuing cooperation with the West but, of course, without any political conditions attached and without interference in our internal affairs.

While strengthening cooperation with the socialist countries and deepening integration within the CEMA framework, Poland would like to continue a high level of trade exchange with the industrial capitalist countries which play an important part in Poland's foreign trade, the author continues. In 1980, these states shared 35 percent of the entire Polish import and 34.4 percent of the gross export.

As a result of last year's grave socioeconomic crisis there was a sharp decline in the trade turnover with the West. The value of exports was reduced by 20.3 percent and that of import by 30.4 percent. Poland would like to return as soon as possible to the level of trade exchange which existed before the crisis and to become once again a respected partner. However, the difficulties which the West creates for us deprives us of the opportunity to continue cooperation, forces us toward a further sharp restriction of imports, and stipulates a reduction in exports because through the shortage of war and other materials the industrial enterprises will not be able to carry out orders.

The suspension of import credits, the breaking off of the earlier agreed talks on rescheduling the repayment of the loans and other restrictions -- all this prevents Poland from meeting the obligations which it undertook. Poland will be able to repay its debts if it exports and earns hard currency, concludes TRYBUNA LUDU.

AID, INDUSTRIAL CONTRACTS WITH USSR OUTLINED

Light Industry Aid

LD032158 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] The economic reform was discussed at a session of the Sejm Commission for Light Industry. The deputies devoted much attention to raw material difficulties. However, it was stressed that an agreement was concluded on time with the Soviet Union for the exploitation of untapped production capacities in light industry. Thanks to the deliveries of Soviet raw materials, including cotton and wool, those factories basing their production on these raw materials will continue to operate.

The Soviet Union made available to us considerable amounts of raw materials. I shall cite an example: more than 4,500 tons of cotton, including long-fiber cotton; 4,000 tons of wool -- and what wool means to us is quite obvious: it means the purchase for hard currency of Australian, New Zealand or Argentinian wool -- 7,000 tons, again a large amount, of chemical fibers. Also discussed was the joint completion of investment projects tackled by us in the light industry.

A delegation of the design office of (?a) fiber factory and of the Ministry of (?Industry) is leaving for Moscow on Sunday in order to discuss the projects of two enterprises which were presented: the enterprise in Bialystok where we wish to jointly set up a spinning mill, a weaving mill and finishing shop for cotton fabrics, and the enterprise in Wroclaw -- an investment project which is not complete -- where we wish to install cotton spinning machines and knitting machines.

From the raw materials delivered from the Soviet Union which are needed to carry out production tasks -- and not only from raw materials but also from certain auxiliary means or materials -- we will make the following articles in Poland and deliver them to the Soviet Union: First, about 30 million meters of cotton fabrics, woolen fabrics amounting to somewhere between 5 and 7 million meters, 3.5 million meters of silk fabrics, from 9-10 million knitted goods, about 1 million pieces of clothing, including shirts, 100,000 jackets and coats, and bed linen made in the clothing industry from about 15 million meters of cotton fabrics.

I have to say that some of the raw materials will remain for the domestic market.

Recapitulating on the matter of the [word indistinct] production capacities I would like to inform you that within 10 days, representatives of some of our specific production enterprises are leaving for Moscow to continue to discuss matters from technological, economic and cost points of view and to sign contracts.

Railway Parts Contracts

LD032212 Warsaw PAP in English 2018 GMT 3 Mar 82

["New Polish-Soviet Contracts" -- PAP headline; by PAP correspondent Leslaw Kolijewicz]

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Mar (PAP) -- Polish Foreign Trade Enterprises have recently concluded a number of contracts here envisaging increased deliveries from the USSR of raw materials, materials, and components necessary for maintaining industrial production in Poland.

The Kolmex firm signed a contract under which the USSR will supply Poland with 9,300 sets of wheels and a considerable number of braking systems needed for railway car manufacture, as well as spare parts for diesel locomotives.

Thanks to the export contracts signed by Kolmex with Soviet customers the workers of Pafawag and other Polish railway stock-producing factories will have adequate work load. The USSR ordered 1,200 freight cars and (?20) gas tanker cars in Poland as well as various components for rail car production to the tune of nearly 100 million roubles. This will leave Poland with a surplus of some 73 million roubles which can be used for financing other imports.

Other new contracts include the one signed by Pol-Mot firm envisaging Soviet supplies of various components for Polski Fiat-125P cars manufactured by the FSO plant in Warsaw.

In trade negotiations and when signing new contracts the Soviet side demonstrates maximum of understanding for Polish economic needs.

LE FIGARO VIEWS CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM TASKS

PM261539 Paris LE FIGARO in French 25 Feb 82 p 4

[Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "Jaruzelski Is Still Seeking the Middle Course"]

[Text] Warsaw -- This is an eagerly awaited Central Committee plenum since, to quote TRYBUNA LUDU's headline, it is "Both the Seventh and the First," in other words the first since the introduction of martial law. It started at noon yesterday with the reading of a 70-page report by General Jaruzelski.

The latter first discussed the international situation which, he said, is "deteriorating." Some hostile forces wanted to use the situation in Poland to spark off a world conflict. In that sense "martial law is in fact countering war." The leader of the country stressed that he did not intend to make "promises which cannot be kept" and pointed out that the rigors of martial law "had been and will be gradually eased." Referring to the slogan adopted by Solidarity's supporters, "The Winter Is Yours, But the Spring Will Be Ours," the general exclaimed: "The Spring will not be yours or ours. It will be Polish and socialist."

What in fact is the object of these discussions? They should strive for three objectives, as the communique proclaims: "strengthening the ideological and political unity" of the party, "producing the first signs of popular confidence" and finally, examining "the party's role in steering the country out of the crisis."

Let us examine these three points:

1 -- Strengthening the party's unity: There is certainly a great deal to be done in this sphere. It is no secret to anybody that the very serious factional conflicts within the party, the "hardliners" opposition to the policy pursued by the "moderates" grouped around General Jaruzelski, their desire to use the introduction of martial law to implement a neo-Stalinist program, were precisely the cause of the successive postponements of this Central Committee session.

Attack On the Wings ....

However the plenum is opening in a new situation. The announcement in Moscow and then in Warsaw of General Jaruzelski's visit to the Soviet Union next week clearly showed that the Kremlin, after a great deal of hesitation, has now decided to give its support to the Polish leader's "centrist" line (in the Polish context).

That is obviously of decisive importance because it proves that the Soviets are convinced that a "moderate" policy in Warsaw will serve their overall strategic designs better than the adventurism of the "diehards."

Having said that, in keeping with the old traditions, the Central Committee will have to try its best to give the impression of the party's consolidation and new-found unity in support of the general's line. To do that it will probably be necessary to avoid spectacular changes while condemning the extreme elements on the party's two wings.

General Jaruzelski himself told the plenum: "It is time to stop dividing the party into 'wings.' There is only one goal and it is a common one: Socialism."

The party particularly needs to give the impression of unity, even if it means a degree of ultra-conservatism, because it is extremely weak. It is estimated to have lost nearly one-third of its members since 13 December and the country has in fact been led by the Military Council since that date. Although the authorities now feel satisfaction at having salvaged their power they have not forgotten the shock they experienced in the period between August 1980 and December 1981 -- a shock almost as great as that experienced by the population on 13 December.

Paradoxically, therefore, despite the tragic nature of the situation, there are reasonable chances of the regime's gradually moving toward a democratized socialist system, going even further in that direction than Hungary. Before August the party was too sure of its power to want to introduce reforms. After that date it was too weak and too threatened by Solidarity to dare to do so. Today it feels the need for them and, with the army's support, finally has the means of implementing them.

2 -- Revival of the people's confidence: This objective is even more ambitious and difficult to attain than the previous one. Nonetheless nobody doubts that the general himself, helped by men such as Mr Barcikowski and Mr Rakowski, sincerely intends to make every effort to progress in that direction.

He forcefully emphasizes the fact that there can be not return either to the situation before August 1980, characterized by anti-democratic socialism, or to the situation before 13 December 1981, which was also characterized by anarchy and chaos. The plan relating to the trade unions clearly shows that the government, as the general has just recalled, accepts independent workers' representation provided it is not turned into a movement opposing the system.

Hungarian Path

In this context two fundamental problems emerge: that of organizing the state structures so that the state can become "the guarantor of positive changes" and that of national reconciliation by "the implementation of the idea of the front for national accord."

This is the Hungarian path and even goes much further. Moreover it is significant that the army newspaper should cite as a subtitle Kadar's famous expression "Anybody Who Is Not Against Us Is With Us." Indeed that is the most the government can now reply on, but will it be enough? How can a program of reforms be implemented without the population's active participation or even in spite of its hostility? That seems an impossible task.

3 -- Party's participation in this renewal operations: that objective requires far-reaching changes. Indeed it cannot be denied that it is the party's weakness and impoverishment which are the underlying cause of Poland's successive crises. For 36 years its members have been recruited according to the principle of "negative selection," giving preference to servility over talent and abilities.

Will the army -- in which the principle of negative selection could not be applied -- have the means of radically renewing the party and crushing the bureaucracy's opposition? Indeed a great deal will also depend on the answer which is given to that question. But can it be given by the seventh plenum? Unfortunately it is doubtful!

SEVERAL SOLIDARITY DETAINEES REPORTEDLY ILL

NC022120 Paris AFP in English 2107 GMT 2 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Mar (AFP) -- Benedykt Czuma, detained former editor of the Solidarity weekly for the Lodz region, is ill and needs surgery, but this is unavailable at Lowicz prison where he is being held, according to a letter whose contents were divulged to foreign correspondents here today.

The letter was written by Mr Czuma's wife Elzbieta, who has two infant children to look after, and addressed to the Lodz police chief, with copies to the diet, the Episcopate, and the International Committee of the Red Cross. The letter said that Mr Czuma, arrested on December 13, the day martial law was declared, is suffering from a duodenal ulcer and sinus trouble.

Both the governor and doctor of Lowicz prison, 80 km (50 miles) southwest of Warsaw, had said he should go to hospital for an operation, but the Lodz police chief said he did not have enough men to enable Mr Czuma to be guarded for more than two days in hospital.

Mrs Czuma said that even the prison dispensary is under-heated, with the result that her husband, who has already undergone two sinus punctures, could suffer complications in his condition. "You will be responsible for it," she told the police chief, and pleaded with him to free her husband, for the sake of both his family and his health.

Three other detainees at Lowicz prison are said to be in poor health. They are Mieczyslaw Malczyk, Wiktor Niedzwiedzki, and Marian Pertkiewicz.

In Warsaw, meanwhile, a similar appeal was launched recently by friends of journalist Janina Jankowska, who was interned on February 2 on her return from Italy, where she went to collect the Prix Italia for the best radio reporting. She was first subjected to interrogation in a prison, then taken to the Olszynka Grochowska detention centre, in the Warsaw suburbs, where a few days later she developed a fever. The centre's doctor diagnosed pulmonary congestion and advised sending her to hospital, but this was rejected by the head doctor at the Interior Ministry hospital.

On February 9 she was visited by her husband and son, who found her depressed and in bad shape. The next day she was transported in a fever to the Goldap internment centre on the Soviet frontier. Since then there has been no news of her.

PARIS PAPER ON WALESA VISITS, BUJAK APPEAL

PM031207 Paris LE MONDE in French 3 Mar 82 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Walesa Apparently Being Held in 'Satisfactory' Conditions]

[Excerpt] During a press conference on Monday Mr Hay, chairman of the International Committee of the Red Cross [CICR], said that Lech Walesa had received a private visit from delegates of that neutral and humanitarian body. The Solidarity chairman's detention conditions are "satisfactory," according to Mr Hay. Isabelle Vichniac, our correspondent in Geneva, reports that the meeting took place last week and lasted 3 hours. The CICR was also able to meet 1,034 people in six internment centers chosen by the authorities. Moreover the latter have made it known that two of Walesa's sons were able to visit their father last Sunday and had found him in good form.

An Appeal From Bujak

In addition Zbigniew Bujak, Solidarity Warsaw Region chairman has issued a new appeal condemning as unacceptable the government's proposals on future trade unions which, in his view, will merely be puppets in the government's hands. Those proposals rule out any independence, according to Bujak, who has been living in hiding since 13 December.

"The only course still open to us is to struggle for the restoration of Solidarity's activities," he writes. The trade union shows its presence "even today in the enterprises and in public life -- by speaking openly about all problems which are important for the workers and the trade union." He calls on all regional officials not interned to send letters to the Sejm to protest against the anti-Solidarity campaign and demand the restoration of the trade union. "The authorities will at least have to accept the fact that the trade union is active," he continues.

"We should be prepared for coordinated activities, Bujak says. "There must be organized groups in each enterprise having at their disposal funds to help those who are harrassed, printing equipment for publishing their own newspapers, and a communications network. When the question of Solidarity's existence is debated our movement will have to be a real force if it is to be able to dictate terms. We have one objective before us at present: to revive our trade union activities, to release the internees, to have those who have been sacked reinstated and to have martial law lifted."

TERRORIST ATTACK ON YUGOSLAVS IN BELGIUM

Ambassador Comments

AU032145 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] The following is a report from Brussels by our correspondent Miodrag Stojiljkovic:

Today in Brussels, the soccer game between the (Advelek) and Crvena Zvezda teams was played under heavy pressure following the attack on the Yugoslav club in Brussels. As is known, in this anti-Yugoslav act, two of our workers temporarily employed abroad were killed and two persons were injured, and at the present the attackers are still unknown. However, the game at the Brussels stadium was held without incident and safely. Comrade Esad Ceric, Yugoslavia's ambassador to Belgium, attended the game. We have asked him to make a statement in connection with the aforementioned event in Brussels this afternoon:

[Begin Ceric recording] Dear Yugoslavs. We must inform you in this way that today at 1700 a brutal attack was made against our citizens in the Yugoslavia Club. A criminal forced his way in and with his submachine gun fired a whole burst against a group of our citizens, among whom two were killed and two were wounded, one of them very seriously. At present we cannot give all the details, in which you are certainly very interested.

Yet another terrible crime against Yugoslavia has been committed on Belgian territory. All our interventions, all our sharpest and most energetic protests and all our other measures have been in vain: the anti-Yugoslav activity continues in Belgium. There is no doubt that the full responsibility must be borne by the official Belgian organs. I must say this: We can no longer allow this treatment of Yugoslavia. Already for four decades now, our Tito's Yugoslavia has struggled, magnificiently and with dignity, for peace, cooperation and relations among nations on the basis of equality. I want to stress our country's cooperation and struggle for ensuring respect for international norms and obligations especially in the struggle against international terrorism. It is because of this that I conclude that we can no longer allow this treatment.

In addition to the sharpest protests, the most energetic interventions and requests for information on all past crimes, on a series of attacks against Yugoslavia's interests last year and this year, we will also take up with the Belgian organs all other measures aimed at completely liquidating the sources of anti-Yugoslav activity in Belgium.

In conclusion I wish to greet you all most warmly and tell you that the Crvena Zvezda team magnificiently performed its task even under the impossibly difficult political conditions. [end recording]

Previous Incidents Cited

LD032324 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2250 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Mar (TANJUG) -- [dateline as received] -- The assassination here in Brussels this afternoon is so far the bloodiest and gravest attack on Yugoslav institutions and citizens in Belgium. This crime, in which two Yugoslav citizens were killed and three seriously wounded, is only the latest link in the chain of assassinations, killings, arson, threats and subversion which took place over the past twelve months in Belgium which has done little, not to say nothing, to stamp out anti-Yugosav terrorism on its soil.

These assassinations are not only great in number but have also started looking alike, which points out that terrorists and their groups in that country can act in whatever way they like. A bomb exploded in the Yugoslav airlines office in January last year. A fire was planted in the Yugoslav tourist bureau the next month. The headquarters of the Association of Yugoslavs in Namir was demolished in July. The Yugoslav club of citizens of Albanian nationality "Preparimi" was demolished the same month. In two assassinations on the Yugoslav Embassy here in Brussels also in July, one of the embassy staff was killed and three seriously wounded.

In the meantime, Yugoslavia has lodged increasingly categorical protests demanding from the Belgian authorities protection for Yugoslav citizens and institutions in Belgium. These protests did not bear fruit. Extreme terrorist organizations -- which rally the remnants of Nazi quisling groups and other terrorists of various colour and origin including the Albanian irredentists -- conduct unobstructed an anti-Yugoslav campaign and freely roam around Belgium.

Belgium, which so frequently stresses its [words indistinct] has become "famous" this time as a safe haven for terrorists. The continuation of the anti-Yugoslav terrorist activity in Belgium, without any doubt, very seriously affects relations between the two countries.

ASSEMBLY CHAMBER VOTES CHANGES IN 5-YEAR PLAN

LD032254 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1051 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 3 Mar (TANJUG) -- The Yugoslav Assembly's Chamber of Republics and Provinces, chaired by Zoran Polic, today adopted conclusions on the basic directions of changes in and additions to the Yugoslav social plan for 1981-85, as well as several other legislative documents and decisions. The delegates were briefed on the negotiations on the development of agricultural industry and on the implementation of the decisions to enable the railroads to take an adequate part in implementing the policy of stabilization.

The country's socioeconomic situation and economic developments in the world require the provosions of the current 5-year plan to be somewhat altered. This problem has been exacerbated because economic growth has been slowed down, the necessary changes in the position of workers are not being carried out and the administrative regulation of social reproduction trends continues. This adversely affects the development of self-management relations and the economic motivation of workers in economic management. The Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the Yugoslav Assembly believes, therefore, that certain changes have to be introduced into the current plan.

The chamber believes that in laying down priority tasks the speedier development of production of goods for export, expecially into the convertible area, must be boosted, and so must the substitution of imports as a lasting orientation of our joint economic policy. Development of domestic technology, manufacture of specific equipment and of goods which require a higher level of processing and the use of services with higher foreign currency effect must be given priority. The development of energy based on domestic resources remains the most important task of joint interest. Changes in the structure of energy exports toward a greater use of domestic sources of coal, oil and gas must be carried out more vigorously, say the conclusions of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces.

The chamber of the Republics and Provinces believes that in food production emphasis must be placed on primary agricultural production. Priorities will be fixed in the agreement on the development of the agroindustrial complex. This production should be boosted with special economic policy measures.

Priority in transportation should be given to modernization and construction of main roads and integral transport capacities with emphatic reorientation toward railroads and sea and river traffic. And finally, in the view of the delegates in this Assembly chamber, the tourist industry without a doubt also belongs among priority commitments.

Further on in the session, the delegates discussed the work on concluding the social agreement on implementing the policy of development of the agroindustrial complex. Without doubt, this is one of the most important social agreements tied up with the realization of the agreed economic policy because inadequate production requires a constant increase in food imports. Last year the value of imported food reached about $1.48 billion. Since we exported approximately $1.02 billion worth of food, our exports covered approximately 69 percent of our imports. As a result, our total investments into agricultural development in 1981-85 will amount to 154.8 billion dinars, or an annual average of over 30 billion dinars.

The Chamber of the Republics and Provinces adopted the conclusions which stressed that all participants in this agreement should make an effort to reach accord on the remaining outstanding questions so that agreement can be finalized by the end of this month.

After the introductory report by Ante Zelic, president of the Federal Committee for Transportation and Communications, the delegates who took part in the discussion stressed that, in the context of the discussion on the problems confronting railroad organizations, the difficulties encountered daily by rail passengers should be stressed too. Considerable delays, poor and irregular heating and nonmaintenance of cleanliness in rail cars are the problems which cannot be overlooked in a serious discussion of this kind, stressed delegate Augustin Papic.

The representatives of the community of Yugoslav railroads provided the information at the session today that last year this organization increased its volume of freight traffic by 2.8 percent, while passenger traffic remained at the 1980 level. In addition, freight transportation charges last year were increased by 18 percent and passenger transportation charges by 21 percent. Compensation payments were 36 percent up on the year before and amounted to 10 billion dinars. Nevertheless, Yugoslav railroad losses last year will be about 2.3 billion dinars. In addition, foreign debts again last year stood at $62 million.

The chamber adopted the conclusions whereby the communities of Yugoslav railroads are advised to establish income links with organizations of associated labor using their services as soon as possible. In this way it will be possible for prices, and that means income, to depend on the quality of the services provided.

During the session delegates also heard a report submitted by Stojan Matkaliev, chairman of the Federal Committee for Energy and Industry, on the present electrical power situation in the country. In the view of the Federal Executive Council the power supply situation has become critical. Consumption continues to rise and, according to Stojan Matkaliev, last week it amounted to 191.4 million kwh a day, that is a 2.1 percent increase on the same week last year. During the past week power output was lower than consumption and amounted to 187.4 kwh a day. Most electricity was produced by coal-fired thermal power stations -- 90.3 million. Hydroelectric power stations produced 79.8 million kwh, oil-fired thermal power stations 10.5 million kwh and the Krsko nuclear power station 6.6 million kwh a day. Because of this situation, Matkaliev said, we were forced to reduce consumption in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, Macedonia and Serbia, thus saving about 8 million kwh a day or 4 percent of the output.

However, despite this we had to import about 8 million kwh a day. Up to (?28) February we had to dispatch 3.6 million kwh of electric power daily to Western countries, primarily Italy, in return for the power imported from them early this year.

The most alarming aspect at the moment is that the flow of water into reservoirs is very low and in places it is virtually nonexistent. For instance, in Montenegro it amounted to only 7 percent of what was originally planned. Last week, the daily flow of water into reservoirs was enough for only 44 million kwh, while the weekly average is normally 70 million kwh. At the end of last week, the reserves in reservoirs amounted to 1.5 billion kwh, which is half a billion less than during the same week last year and 900 million less than planned.

Likewise, coal reserves are not extensive and now amount to 1.5 billion tons, that is, 200,000 tons less than last week. Liquid fuel reserves are even lower and, according to Stojan Matkaliev, could be described as critically low. In Croatia they amount to only 36,000 tons and in Macedonia they are no more than symbolic.

The Chamber of the Republics and Provinces did not adopt any special conclusions on the electric power situation, but asked the Yugoslav community for electric power to submit a report to the SFRY Assembly by 15 March, giving details of what has been done to overcome the situation which led to the collapse of the system in 1981.

At the end of the session, the chamber endorsed the financial plan of the Yugoslav National Bank and elected Lojze Skok, delegate from Slovenia, as new chairman of the Committee for Credit and Monetary System.

KRAIGHER INTERVIEW ON ECONOMY, OTHER ISSUES

LD030048 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1238 GMT 2 Mar 82

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 2 Mar (TANJUG) -- Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, spoke tonight in a Belgrade radio and television broadcast about the topical questions of the sociopolitical and economic life of our country. We are transmitting this conversation in full.

Vojislav Milenkovic: Comrade Kraigher, how do you see the present political and economic situation of our country?

Sergej Kraigher: There are a lot of things which worry our working people at the present time. Sometimes even the question, where are we going, is posed, especially problems pertaining to supplies are causing confusion. The people do not see responsible elements in some environments acting in concert to arrive at a solution. Manifestations of nationalism encouraged by enemy events in Kosovo are also present. Some other questions of our sociopolitical life are also filling the pages of our newspapers and magazines.

As far as the basic developments in our society are concerned, we can say that Yugoslavia is marching along its socialist self-management path and that following the death of Comrade Tito and Comrade Kardelj it is continuing to strengthen its position in the world. We could say that behind these external expressions of events in our social life and actual events a great battle is being waged. Its purpose, in the main, is that in our socialist self-management system and life we should free ourselves of the vestiges of the state system of running the economy and of its decisive impact on societal conditions in general.

In the area of economics it is essential for us to bring about a situation in which the workers in basic organizations of associated labor control social reproduction. This is possible only if we eliminate the last vestiges of the still very strong and persistent influence of the state and of state organs as basic factors in deciding about economic and social developments in municipalities, republics and provinces, and in the federation. However, at least in my view, tendencies and concepts are emerging whereby centralization of some functions could accelerate the solution of some questions.

On the ideological plane it should be stressed that our sociopolitical system, our life now, the battle for stabilization and the settling of our economic relations with foreign countries call for and encourage greater ideological involvement in the demand for a stronger presence of organized socialist forces in all self-management organs and social bodies and in sociopolitical organizations and demand that these forces should be more directly present in the solution of ideological questions and contradictions. On the other hand, the political system of socialist self-management democracy and its delegate system should increasingly come to the fore.

Vojislav Milenkovic: In this connection, what is the significance of the forthcoming elections?

Sergej Kraigher: I think that a very essential characteristic of this political moment is that our society is in electoral activity for the assemblies of political and self-management interest communities in which these issues are considered and discussed. The preparations for the League of Communists congresses are being made at the same time. These things together will make it possible for us to obtain a comprehensive picture and assessment of our economic and social developments.

Vojislav Milenkovic: In the coming elections, Comrade Kraigher, big cadre changes are expected to occur. Electoral activity is underway, so can we ask you: What should be done to ensure that, to a greater extent, as is often said, the right people get the right posts?

Sergej Kraigher: As far as "the right people in the right places" are concerned, it is the objective of all political forces that this should be attained. I think that there is an essential awareness of the fact that the elections and the results of elections are always a synthesis, and the result of previous work and successes [words indistinct] political training of the cadres for the implementation of the basic aims and tasks of the environment in which they are active.

For the continuity of our revolution, for socialist self-management development and for Yugoslavia's nonaligned policy it would be very important if already now, during the precandidature proceedings, the people should come to the fore who are now taking part in the solution of the basic problems in our society, in their environments, in their personal life and in the life of their families, their children, and so forth. This particularly applies to young people because they are just setting up families. It is these people who directly experience all the good and bad aspects of our society. It is, therefore, important that they take over as much as possible direct responsibility for the solution of the social questions posed by socialist self-management development. Of course, this is but one aspect of the questions in connection with the forthcoming elections.

Vojislav Milenkovic: Of course, this is all along the line of the implementation of President Tito's initiative on collective work and responsibility. In your evaluation, how much progress has been made in this respect?

Sergej Kraigher: As far as collective work and responsibility is concerned, the substance of which was put forward by Comrade Tito at the trade union congress and after the 11th LCY Congress, I think that this initiative is sometimes observed too onesidedly and outside the context of our sociopolitical system. It is a fact that collective work and collective responsibility are inherent and implicit in our constitutional and sociopolitical system. Comrade Tito linked collective work and responsibility with the question of the 1-year or short-term office. And this means and demands that the delegates and delegations be made up, not only with regard to the participation of young people, women and other categories of working people but also in terms of their political orientation and responsibility, so that they can take part, in an active and qualified way, in the solution of every problem and of the entire complex of issues on which collective decisions are made.

This means that in implementing this initiative, and in the course of this electoral activity, we must elect such delegations and on the basis of delegations elect such organs as will lay down policy and carry out the policy, that is to say, members who will be capable as a collective to measure up to their tasks. In this sort of situation the presiding member, or the president of the collective organ, is only one of its members who sooner or later will be the most responsible person among them, while other members of the collective organ must be fully capable of and ready to take on collective responsibility for the work of the delegations and organs, and also personal responsibility for the questions for which, in terms of the internal distribution of work, they are particularly responsible.

There is one more thing I would like to say. We are insufficiently aware of the fact that our system has the institution of replaceability, and this means the permanent responsibility of all those who for any reason whatever are incapable or who violate the principle of collective work and responsibility or who for any reason whatsoever do not fulfill the expectations because of which they were put forward as candidates and elected -- they can be recalled.

All these things, in addition to the efforts made now in the application of the principle of collective work and responsibility, will contribute to better and more responsible work of these organs as units and of each individual member in them.

Vojislav Milenkovic: Recently some candidates were registered publicly for the top functions in the federation. Would this appear to be a new method of work?

Sergej Kraigher: This is not an entirely new method of work, what is involved here is registering possible candidates, and not putting forward candidates.

Vojislav Milenkovic: And public announcement of these candidatures?

Sergej Kraigher: The SFRY Presidency was able to do this because under the Constitution it is in its jurisdiction, following candidacy proceedings -- after the Socialist Alliance has done what it has to do according to legislation, the Constitution and the constitutional amendments -- to propose to the SFRY Assembly candidates for the office of president of the Federal Executive Council. The proposal to register possible candidates for three federal secretaries was made by the Presidency because by the nature of its function it also bears a part of the responsibility, although these secretaries are responsible for their work primarily to the Federal Executive Council and to the SFRY Assembly.

To be able to orientate ourselves as quickly as possible and see which candidatures are acceptable and which have the biggest prospect of consensus -- that is to obtain full support in the republics and autonomous provinces -- we carried out preliminary consultations and proposed that the Coordination Commission of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance register the candidacies. Of course, after registering the candidacy there follows the candidacy procedure. This has to be particularly borne in mind and the one distinguished from the other. In addition, as is known, several candidates can both be registered as candidates and be candidates. [as received]

The preliminary registration of candidates has also got its practical aspect. What happens is that since the most responsible officials are involved, we wished that this procedure provide the republican and provincial organs, which are also concerned with cadre problems, with a clear enough orientation of with whom they can reckon in the solution of their own cadre requirement. It is not easy to coordinate this because of the 1-year and short-term mandates, in which respect the federation must take into account the equal representation of the republics and autonomous provinces.

Mihajlo Eric: Comrade President, these most responsible people, officials, delegates and all of us are expected to concern ourselves with the serious business of stabilizing the economy. It is stressed now that consistent implementation of self-management is one of the essential conditions for solving economic difficulties. We often hear this, but in practice we feel that the role of the state is waxing stronger and that there is more and more administration. How are we to get out of this situation?

Sergej Kraigher: I have already said that the essential characteristic of our society at the present time is to march along the secure socialist self-management path, that our revolution cannot take a step backward but can only go forward. Special efforts are required here into which all socialist forces must be incorporated much more systematically that at present and this does not mean only the League of Communists but the Socialist Alliance, the Confederation of Trade Unions, the League of Socialist Youth, science, expert workers, and so forth. All these forces must operate so as to implement the foundations of our self-management system, primarily in the direction of securing a decisive position of workers in social reproduction and in our society as a whole. I think that we have some success in this respect, although some people hold the opposite view.

In the discussions and concrete activities in the implementation of the foreign currency system, market supplies and in other matters, never before have so many reciprocal direct links and quests for solutions been arrived at with joint forces, and with a coordination of joint interests as is the case now.

Mihajlo Eric: I have a special question on some solution pertaining to our system, particularly the foreign currency system. However, the question is how to get out of the contradiction; we want to implement self-management, but there is more and more administration. We even see that they [the administration] are making it incumbent on commerce to collect bottles, instead of this being in its interest.

Sergej Kraigher: This last question should be put to the people in commerce as self-managers and to those who are taking part in resolving the problem in the price area. However, as far as the first question is concerned, I have spoken about the need to eleminate all the elements of etatism leading to the disruption of the market. Elements of monopoly in composite organizations of associated labor must be eliminated and so must the monopolist influence of multinational companies on our market and on our development. The basic thing is to free ourselves of the state constraints so that the market can begin to operate more with its own logic. In our system the market not only operates in a haphazard way but makes it possible for, and requires, the self-managers and workers as producers and consumers to enter into reciprocal relations and coordinate their direct interests. For instance, there are citizens who can get organized through consumer councils for the solution of their daily problems in the enviornments in which they live, but not enough use is made of this facility.

In a word, on the basis of market logic, association along self-management lines must occur, that is resources for joint interests must allow self-management concentration to acquire monies in this way. For instance, we were pessimists in relation to pooling the resources for the development of underdeveloped republics in Kosovo. In this respect, something has changed now. A move has been made, slower than we would have wished, but the crux of the matter is that this is being done in a self-management way. Here, the state is only an ancillary organ, not derived from the self-management process but an organ helping this process. I think that this function of our state organs is not taken account of sufficiently in the republics, in the municipalities and in the federation, as is the case with the banks as well.

Insufficient effort is made in trying to find ways for these organs, in the context of their jurisdiction, to help processes so that resources in the market are pooled in a self-management way and problems solved on the basis of objective economic laws, in particular of the market, and to consider joint interests and solve current development problems in the economy. I think that here we need to seek solutions and ways out.

As regards state interventions, this has no prospect.

Mihajlo Eric: Certainly, one must seek solutions in this direction. However, it is a fact that even the Federal Executive Council is increasingly forced to take temporary measures because the republics and provinces sometimes cannot agree on some questions. The Federal Executive Council takes measures with the agreement of the Presidency. How do you evaluate this practice and what should be done in order to reach agreement more quickly and coordinate the interests of the federal units?

Sergej Kraigher: There are two things here. One is agreement between federal units on the bases of the joint economic policy and the coordination of joint development programs in accordance with the joint economic policy. The other is the question of temporary measures adopted by the Federal Executive Council with the agreement of the Presidency along the lines of carrying out the joint economic policy. I think that one of the reasons why the Federal Executive Council has forced to adopt temporary measures, and there have been three or four of them since 1979, is that precisely the joint economic policy had been coordinated insufficiently clearly and definitely, with all the consequences. This is said in the Assembly, when relations between the republics and autonomous provinces are discussed, and sometimes, when the joint economic policy is being established, such political formulations are adopted which in fact cover up some specific disagreements but they can nevertheless pass the Assembly procedure. Sometimes there is a lack of sufficient effort to consider (?real) problems and reasons, objective and basic ones, for the existence of differences in standpoints between the republics and autonomous provinces, and to seek joint interests when establishing joint policy early on, and so formulate the policy. In such conditions the agreed policy would be carried out more successfully, and the Federal Executive Council would more rarely have to take temporary measures on the basis of its authority. In this way many issues would be coordinated more easily.

The other reason for temporary measures is that some problems in inidividual spheres of the system have not been considered and resolved. Here, first and foremost, it is a question of the role of the state and the influence of state organs on the behaviour of economic subjects in reproduction and in the market. This means that federal organs have to discover measures and means and stimulate the pooling of resources even beyond republican boundaries, so as to strengthen the unified market on the basis of the interests of the economic subjects themselves. Republican organs need to act in the same direction, so that this is their basic task, for which they are dutybound according to the Constitution and the law. Similarly, the municipalities in their spheres must carry out such a policy and stimulate such measures as will ensure our togetherness in this context, and all organs should ensure equality in the whole of Yugoslavia.

Mihajlo Eric: Yes, but it is a fact, comrade president, that each sociopolitical community adopts regulations, and adopts them for its own region, but since these measures vary, there are great difficulties in linking the economy in associated labor in the unified Yugoslav market.

Sergej Kraigher: I would not say that difficulties arise because their measures are different. Differing measures are an expression of various situations in which individual issues arise. And, although they are essentially the same in the whole of Yugoslavia, nevertheless they occur in a different way in different environments.

These are the contradictions of our social and socioeconomic development which are objectively given in every society, and we as Marxists should not try to convince ourselves that development lies in overcoming contradictions. That, too, is the real essence of the problem.

Temporary measures demonstrate precisely that we have still not made a decisive breakthrough in every sociopolitical community in carrying out the role of the state, so that the worker is oriented on the basis of his interests. For example, in the context of the municipality one should resolve that which can be resolved within the municipality as a self-management community, and the rest should be resolved in cooperation with other municipalities regardless of borders. This is true linking in the economy. The same applies to republics. This is yet another reason, if we are discussing this.

The third question about which I should like to speak is the activity of subjective forces. The League of Communists throughout the whole of the sociopolitical system continues to do too little, not only in action by state and administrative organs at all levels, but also in self-management organs in organizations of associated labor.

Mihajlo Eric: Yes, this means that the League of Communists must be more active.

Sergej Kraigher: Not only more active generally, but it should be active within the system. I think that we are making a mistake here, for one always raises the question of how everything depends only on the authorities and the League of Communists, instead of asking what the League of Communists is doing in preparation for the congresses, and what the League of Communists is doing in the workers' councils and how it works there, what influence it has on the workers' councils, what influence it has on and how it works in the Confederation of Trade Union Federation, the League of Socialist Youth and especially the Socialist Alliance as the front of socialist forces which should, regardless of boundaries, ensure joint development on socialist self-management bases.

Mihajlo Eric: Comrade Kraigher, the fact is that we have six states and eight economies and on paper, as they say, one unified Yugoslav market. Some say that this has already become a joint market. What are the experiences up to now of the Yugoslav Presidency in cooperation with the Federal Executive Council, the SFRY Assembly and the presidencies of the republics and provinces?

Sergej Kraigher: Naturally, you mentioned "six states" in a tone as if this is something which is not in accordance with the joint or unified market and with togetherness in Yugoslavia.

Mihajlo Eric: No, I did not say this. In fact you spoke about it in Maribor.

Sergej Kraigher: In Maribor I said that it would be unnatural if self-managing and economic life in the republics and autonomous provinces started being isolationist, because in the modern world, at the end of the 20th century, the economy must be interlinked regardless of state frontiers and less so within the state. There are in this also some elements of what I keep talking about: the influence of the state on isolationism, on voluntarism, on autarky, and also disregard for economic laws, and so forth. These are such trends. However, on the whole, we are not in this situation. On the contrary, it was during the tackling of these problems, especially during the past 2 years, that the extent to which our economy is interdependent was shown. A series of processes, which are not being stopped, established themselves in the use of foreign exchange, for instance, so that foreign exchange was provided not by their users but by someone else, and the former were not under any obligation to return it.

However, in the case of other goods and services economic subjects will make sure of identifying the common interests with the economic organizations from the whole country. They will open joint factories, organize joint production of goods and provision of services and will thus create the unified market, organize it in the key areas to become a unified market. Now we have elements which are clearly acting in the opposite manner, so that this function of the market in Yugoslavia and of the unified economic area of Yugoslavia are weakening. When we talk about this we go back to the old truth: the state should be freed from the function of the old, alienated situation, of what is not a function of self-managing society and the economic laws, of what is reflected unfavorably in the behavior of self-managing society. Of course, the machinery which is being used in the development and in stimulating a unified market also (?influences) the plans and self-managing agreement.

Mihajlo Eric: What remains is the question of cooperation between the SFRY Presidency and the republican presidencies.

Sergej Kraigher: I can say that we are satisfied. The SFRY Presidency assumed all its functions after Comrade Tito's death in keeping with the Constitution. This means that we, together with the SFRY Assembly as a complete and important factor -- because the rule by the whole system, including the SFRY Assembly, gives our sociopolitical system its character -- jointly follow developments, hold consultations and reach accord on specific questions and on the way the problem of solving them should be approached.

For instance, we made use of the rights which we enjoy under the Constitution and asked for a joint session with the Federal Executive Council. When we saw that stabilization and the preparations for the resolution for 1982, the first year of the medium-term plan, were not shaping as they should have, we sent a letter to the SFRY Assembly to involve the delegations in the settling of these problems. We sent the same letter to the presidents of the presidencies of the republics and autonomous provinces as well.

These are new possibilities at the disposal of the SFRY Assembly. We are making use of the possibility of involving the whole base of our society, the whole of society and especially its grass roots through the delegate system in the settling of key problems. However, this system has to be developed further because we have not nearly made use of all the advantages of our sociopolitical and economic system. In this respect we are still at the beginning, we are still learning.

Mihajlo Eric: The result of these actions which have been taken is the setting up of a commission of federal social councils. You are at the head of this commission. Much is expected from this commission. It is expected to prepare a complete program of economic stabilization. Can you say when this program is expected to be ready and how much progress the commission has made in this respect.

Sergej Kraigher: The commission was set up with the basic task of preparing a long-term concept of economic stabilization in Yugoslavia as a whole, not only from the economic point of view but also from the social point of view, from the point of view of our economic relations with foreign countries and of the development of the system.

We had to reach the conclusion that what had been done in the course of preparing the medium-term plan was not enough, though the task of the medium-term social plan was that it should be a stabilization plan. We are now taking over this task as a working body of the federal social councils.

Mihajlo Eric: I do not know why that commission was called enforced administration at the beginning.

Sergej Kraigher: Nor do I. You journalists, first and foremost, thought it up. I do not know who was so witty. This way, in simple terms, there are many parallels which sometimes serve as a joke, and sometimes they have their own political content which, not that it relates to journalists, did not suit some, of finding more effective solutions and ways out of this situation. [as received] I am thinking of the stabilization of relations with other countries, and on this basis mobilizing the whole of society and applying real solutions.

Up to now I have been giving a reply to a question which is simplified. In the context of the commission there is a separate working group which has been organizing work in relation to all the relevant problems, which we shall not go into. There are also several groupings, and more than 300 scientists and experts have been mobilized in all spheres: economists, sociologists, lawyers, political scientists and so forth.

First we were planning to agree on a text of the ideological and practical bases of a long-term stabilization program by the end of February. This was then moved to mid-March. We think that in mid-April we will be able to come out with a draft program which we shall send to all those taking part in the work of the three federal social councils, not only two, but three, for there is also the Federal Council for International Realtions which will also be involved in this. This is already a form of public discussion.

The commission has been involved in preparations for working out a joint economic policy for 1982, so that as early as this year we can take a few steps in the direction of stabilization on long-term bases and not on the basis of letters and standpoints which the SFRY Presidency has sent to the SFRY Assembly and the presidencies of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces.

Mihajlo Eric: Is this in order to change the strategy of our economic development, and are we, as a society, ready for some radical reforms?

Sergej Kraigher: We have been involved in all this, not only as a commission, but above all as the SFRY Presidency. It was involved in the direct resolution of this problem, precisely because we considered that the strategy should be changed. And this means combatting autarchy of the municipalities, the republics and Yugoslavia as a whole, which came about, first and foremost, through their own problems, and neglected the economic laws which seek to open the economy and link it widely, both in the country and in the world, with all who guarantee the best economic results. We therefore resolved to ensure that this change took place. In resolutions, both in the Assembly and in the congress, we spoke about destroying autarchy and about the need for linking with the world and within Yugoslavia on the basis of economic laws, interests and so forth. However, in practice, in the work of our organs and self-management organs and communities, and sociopolitical communities and forums, which received these conclusions and resolutions, this was not carried out consistently enough. Insufficient strength was found to carry out this change in practice.

Now, we are on this path. It is difficult and demands self-denial and changes of habits. Economizing is always less pleasant than living expensively. Each citizen, and each self-management and sociopolitical community is asked to contribute to this.

Mihajlo Eric: Comrade President, there are different views about individual systemic solutions and their influence on the unified Yugoslav market. A little while ago you started speaking about the foreign currency law. You know that we discussed the foreign currency law and that we did not agree on its application. What is your view about this?

Sergej Kraigher: As regards the Yugoslav market, I am constantly repeating, and will say again: This is, above all, not a question of either the influence of the foreign currency law or of other systemic solutions, with the exception of the current credit and monetary system and credit and monetary policy in which part of the relations with other countries are involved, which are relations with foreign means of payment where really strong inflationary elements come to the fore and in this way influence the resolution of current and development problems.

The basic thing is to ensure their emancipation, through the self-management position of the worker and the basic organization of associated labor, their linking and the self-management concentration of resources on the basis of their interests, to use this expression, both from the patronage of banks and bank apparatus and from those political forces which are in collusion with the banks and their service. Without such collusion, the bank services could not have the influence and power which they have now. This is the case of administrative organs, as well as of political forums in municipalities and republics. The basic solution is for workers in basic organizations of associated labor to become, through their delegates, the decisive factor even in the banks, and according to our system this is already possible, if subjective forces are sufficiently involved to implement in practice the provisions which the constitutions and relevant laws require.

The same applies to the sphere of the foreign currency system. We have reached the joint standpoint that the basic responsibility should belong to the workers in basic organizations of associated labor. Practice has demonstrated that only now during the last year, when we put forward quite clearly the questions of imports, production and exports, the export orientation of the economy and of each organization of associated labor, which in this sense must find its place in destroying sector isolationism even in composite organizations of associated labor and so forth, and seek the means of payments itself, in cooperation with others naturally, only then did we achieve the results which up to now we had not achieved, or were far from being satisfied with, especially on the question of equipping the economy for entry onto the Western market.

Mihajlo Eric: But are there also some negative consequences?

Sergej Kraigher: There can be no greater or more serious negative consequences than workers and organizations of associated labor being held in the position they were in up to now, for it will be difficult in these affairs to be exponents of the export orientation which needs to be the object of a new strategy for the whole of society in further economic development, and this is also one of the main aims of stabilization.

If anyone expects others to solve questions which he can and should solve on his own, and if funds and even foreign exchange funds are taken away from those who create them and are then distributed in accordance with a different logic and concept among those who are considered to be in need of them and to satisfy the needs which are deemed to have to be satisfied, then we shall be turned back.

The question of the role of the republics and provinces poses itself in this connection. I also spoke about this in Maribor. This is a question of the responsibility, of one form of the responsibility of the republics and provinces for their own development and for the settling of their own problems and at the same time for the development of the federation as a whole.

In this respect we have also reached agreement: the foreign exchange positions of the republics and provinces must not become their balances of payments or their foreign exchange balance of payments. Anything leading to that should be prevented. Our views differ on what hinders the process that prevents the balance of payments positions from turning into balance of payments, instad of encouraging, as the law says, the pooling of labor and resources, integration and pooling of foreign exchange regardless of the republican and provincial frontiers, in other words the struggle for the unity of the Yugoslav market and for the ability to appear on foreign markets on an equal footing and striving for the addition of elements which will place an even greater obligation on the republican organs to be even more consistent in carrying out their legal and constitutional functions and, above all, to work for the pooling of labor and resources not only in their own areas, but also all over the country's territory and thus consolidate the unity of the Yugoslav economic area.

Mihajlo Eric: This will avoid the practice where, let us say, maize is exported by one sociopolitical community and another one has to import it or else we export raw materials which are then imported?

Sergej Kraigher: During our preparations for 1982, in connection with the harmonization of the views of the republics and provinces on the development of the agroindustrial complex, we reached the conclusion -- and I think that this is one of the reasons why no accord has yet been reached between the republics and provinces -- that agriculture too should be treated as a proper branch of the economy, instead of as a supply branch, over which someone exercises guardianship and takes care of what links it [word indistinct] in the supply of towns. Agricultural organizations must be made more capable. For instance, major combines, which are at times of international importance, should in their won interest supply towns, but at the same time they should be open toward the world, toward what is outside; they should be exposed to the competition of outside agriculture and productivity of labor, so that the prices of agricultural produce, which are always disputed, can really be influenced by competitiveness on international markets, while also bearing in mind both the measures aimed at suppressing monopoly and the interventions which are in evidence in this sphere of the international market. This means that agriculture, too, should be placed on an economic basis the same as any other production. In these conditions the problems of importing and exporting maize also appear different.

Mihajlo Eric: On a healthy economic basis?

Sergej Kraigher: Yes, on a healthy economic basis and then stock-rearing too will develop differently. It will then be clear where and why something is not functioning and where the responsibility for that lies. Now one republic says another one is to blame, agriculture says the state is responsible, the state says agriculture is not meeting its obligations, or rather is not doing what is necessary so that it may be able to manage on the given prices, to stimulate producers to grow corn and so forth.

Mihajlo Eric: I have one more question, Comrade Kraigher, concerning this foreign exchange system. There has been much talk about foreign exchange, because we need it. How do you view this phenomenon where the dollar is emerging, alongside the dinar, as a means of payment in the country in transactions between the country's own businessmen?

Sergej Kraigher: I am not an expert, but I have been forced by circumstances to preoccupy myself with these questions for years and can therefore say something about this. First of all, do you think that the dollar is appearing in the country as a means of payment between citizens, as private clearing payments by people who have dollars in hand or something else?

Mihajlo Eric: Between economic organizations.

Sergej Kraigher: Transactions between economic organizations in the country are carried out in dinars, which means that the problems boils down to the question of the dinar rate of exchange and the extent to which this deviates from the official exchange rate. This is what is known as trimming, in other words the practice of economic organizations agreeing among themselves on the concrete price of a certain product or of the dollar. This is then a matter of exchange-rate differences. Problems emerge when organizations of associated labor hold foreign exchange in their bank accounts abroad for a long time, for the purpose of paying for their purchases and obligations and enter them in their accounts as material costs and total income.

The phenomena about which you speak also exist, but only the dinar figures in accounting in the country and I think that all those measures in the country which favor the dollar as the second permanent currency for any reason should be examined and it should be seen how they influence the strengthening of the dinar. The question of interest and rates of interest also poses itself in this connection. We have now raised the rates of interest somewhat and it is likely that we shall have to pursue an even more active policy regarding the rates of interest so that the price of the dinar will be increased from this side, too. In addition, our commission -- and not only the commission but our society, all factors will make an effort -- has set the task to find common solutions which will lead to strengthening the dinar's stability both in the present medium-term plan and the long-term stabilization program, as well as directly now for 1982 and for the coming years.

Mihaljo Eric: Comrade Kraigher, one of the solutions, at least as far as we have been able to see, is to bring economic logic back into our life, to strengthen economic laws. Can I ask you to comment on this, to tell us to what extent we are now in the position to restore these economic laws, this logic of the market and let this logic, so to speak, work things out for us, because it will do so better than is achieved through accords which, at times, look like voluntarism or in which there are elements of voluntarism.

Sergej Kraigher: Well, in everything that is human there is a possibility of voluntarism. However, the possibility of genuine assessments is an element which is vital to our system as well, but that, naturally, is another matter. However, let us not forget that market laws are active in our society, but that we have so far been able to deal with the consequences of their activity by means of constantly issuing money and incurring debts abroad, first long-term, then medium-term and later on, more and more frequently, short-term loans raised abroad. Now these possibilities have come to a halt. Now these economic laws are manifesting themselves with all their brutality, without, how shall I put it, any mask. We feel this now, in this struggle to reduce investment spending and ensure the effectiveness of investments, and in the battle for restoring to health, liquidating or reorienting those organizations whose production orientation prevents them from being effective and resolving problems, in our efforts to ensure that the working man is the decisive factor that will influence the development of social activities, total development and the size of administration, in our demands to ensure that the working man will, by means of workers' control, directly prevent unnecessary expenditure on trips abroad and help to have these invisible export earnings from transportation services and so forth utilized as much as possible. The economic laws do exist.

Mihaljo Eric: Recently, Comrade Kraigher, the news about the halving of our balance of payments, deficit was received with satisfaction. Have the conditions been created for us to be included more easily in these international trends, and international trade, so that we can carry out business activity more economically and not have balance of payments difficulties, as we have now, this year?

Sergej Kraigher: So as not to sow illusions, balance of payments difficulties will continue, for we need the resources for more rapid development and to pay off debts, and there are also the increasingly high interest rates, under the influence of the policy of high interest rates, and then the foreign currency rates which are very different. All this means that there will be difficulties. But for me a very important thing is this experience of 1983. Two elements are important. First, it was said that there are goods for export, and when we said, for example, that the balance of payments deficit for 1982 should be reduced to a mere $500 million there were a few who said that there were no goods for export to the West. But, there you are, it turned out that there were. And secondly, in the future, there will be even more of them, as long as we are more consistent in holding to that which I have already emphasized in connection with export policy.

It turned out that there were no more classical goods, but there were other goods for export which a developed society might market in places which paid most, where more of our work was put into these exports. It also turned out that if the relevant elements of economic stimulation were applied, economic organizations would take advantage of this and adapt to these instruments. Therefore, we need to analyze well all the instruments, taking account of the full interest of our economy in certain markets, and there is a great deal of it, for even exports to the East bring great advantage. From the Eastern socialist countries we get very valuable raw materials which solve the problem of raising production. However, the problem arises if convertible materials are made into nonconvertible materials to a greater extent. That is why certain organs must reexamine all economic stimulation measures which will effect an increase in the economic interests of workers in basic organizations of associated labor and all those who cooperate in export business so as to ensure that they are oriented toward the West to a greater or necessary extent. This is our task.

We have seen that our exports to the developing countries have gone up considerably. We must supplement these instruments so that the interests of our economic organizations, which in any case have been pronounced, are increased even more, so that we can place our relations with the West, too, on an equitable basis, just as with the developing countries. This, as regards the developing countries, was also discussed both in Havana and in Colombo.

Mihajlo Eric: Comrade Kraigher, we must increase exports so as to be able to repay our debts and import what we need. However, the following question arises: What will happen to our living standard? There has been a fall in real personal incomes. How do you view this? In what direction will our standard of living move?

Sergej Kraigher: Not only in the federation but, above all, in the republics and provinces and municipalities they are taking account of this. I see that the trade unions are very involved in this. Here we have contradictions of which one should take account. It is our strength that this problem is taking account of at the very grass roots, in the organizations of associated labor, and in our system the workers are able to take account of it themselves.

Mihajlo Eric: They only need to control the income.

Sergej Kraigher: No, they already control income to such an extent that noone else can take it away from them. They themselves can increase personal incomes as much as they consider necessary and possible so as to ensure a certain standard of living and development for the work collective. On this, the problem is of those organizations which work at a loss and do not reorientate themselves. And our credit policy allows them to maintain their personal incomes.

When we speak about the standard of living we should also take account of the fact that statistics can be deceptive. For example, the standard of living does not only consist of personal income.

The standard of living, as an average, has not so much fallen, for the fall in personal incomes has been compensated for by some other receipts. Receipts from outside the job, money orders and so forth. Furthermore, in those places where two or three are employed per household, it is quite a different situation in relation to the situation where only one or two members of the household work, or where the households are mixed. And we know that the number of those employed in this period has gone up. We think that the advantage of our system and of our policy up to now is precisely that we have not allowed these statistical averages to deceive us, but have carried out a differentiated policy in this sphere, taking specific social measures and carrying out social policy. Really, this is not welfare, but an essential and lasting element in our system which helps work collectives which are creating sufficient income for themselves in current conditions to ensure the necessary standard of living for all, and makes efforts to help those who have larger families and those whose standard of living is threatened the most, so that the interest of the worker in creating more income is increased. We have established a direction of action which should ensure that creative and productive work and heavy work, despite all the difficulties and problems with remuneration according to work, will have, precisely in these conditions, a better and suitable way of being rewarded and evaluated.

Mihajlo Eric: There is one more question which I should like you to answer: What will the possibilities for employment be, particularly of the young people who are abroad and want to return? How do you view this problem? How will it be solved in the coming period?

Sergej Kraigher: These are serious issues of our development, and one of the weak sides of our social plans is that the problem of employment is always linked with some other general trends in production. I hope that the long-term stabilization program will nevertheless cast some light on this. What is written in newspapers about employment and seen on television is always linked to some general trends. These are purely statistical accounts. Too little has been done to work out an employment program, for example, in specific branches and groupings of production on the basis of considering where production for exports can be increased, enabling, on this basis, more employment, perhaps also on the basis of increased exports of material or better use of domestic reproduction materials on the basis of which production for export can be increased and thus resolve this basic problem of society, thereby producing more employment. The basic thing, then, is that we should not be occupied with processes, but we should go on to working out programs and specific actions for employment.

And here the focus shifts to policy and workers' activity in basic organizations of associated labor, to their mutual relations in the context of work and composite organizations of associated labor. The focus should not, as has been the case up to now, be first and foremost on the self-management communities for employment. This is one aspect about which one might speak more broadly.

Another aspect, which is also long-term and which must start being resolved now, is connected with the education system. It is a fact that up to now our education system has not produced a structure of cadres and candidates for employment which our economy requires. Nor has it provided a structure of employed people with such broad knowledge that they might be able to adapt more quickly to specific changes in rapid economic development. By means of suitable joint actions in organizations of associated labor, competent organs in the republics, planning organs, communities for employment, and mutual cooperation between municipalities from which workers come and to which they go, we must work out whole programs of training for new generations which are coming and for those who are already employed.

Vojislav Milenkovic: And for those returning from abroad.

Sergej Kraigher: Yes, in this connection, for those as well, taking advantage of, or counting on their resources for small-scale industry and so forth.

I think it is a very negative phenomenon, as we read in reports, that the number of probationary workers employed in the last few months has been going down. We think that we should increase the number of young people who should be involved in production and production processes as soon as possible. This would also be an impetus for the reform of vocational education, so that it is placed on realistic bases and trains cadres demanded by our social development.

Vojislav Milenkovic: One question from contemporary political life has been raised frequently. We hear various views being expressed about public declarations by officials from one environment about affairs in another environment. Should an official from one environment speak about good or bad things in another environment or not?

Sergej Kraigher: In principle, as this arises out of our system and we abstract some specific things of which you are probably thinking, I think that the reply is very easy. Officials not only can, but should speak as much as possible, for this is in the system of our pluralism of self-management interests in any environment in which these interest arise. On the basis of socialist self-management democracy and nonaligned policy, there are various political interests, particularly in carrying out this policy. That is why we have sociopolitical organizations and the Socialist Alliance, which could be the platform on which all our problems should be solved, be made topical and gain the most publicity. Here there is the possibility for everyone to declare his opinion, including officials.

Naturally, if there are differences in individual standpoints and assessments of specific events, then it is much more advisable and better for officials, instead of sniping at each other in the press, although perhaps this is a rather crude expression, to clarify things in the context of certain organs. It is a pure illusion to think -- and the events in Kosovo have clearly shown this -- that events in one republic or province, particularly if they are of somewhat broader significance, can remain the object of concentration only of organs in that environment or republic or province, whether they are political or other organs. This is the interest of the whole country, and every official in his own environment should explain these phenomena and find a joint language. And where it seems that there are various approaches, these should be overcome in the normal way. That means, above all, in the context of our sociopolitical organizations, the Socialist Alliance in particular, and in cooperation between them, and not only in forums. This can be done through sections, councils and so forth, so as to achieve joint views. This is demanded by our system, and by collective work. I do not know how we will organize collective work and ensure collective responsibility if not through the members of collective organs making public statements of their standpoints. I do not know how people will be oriented, and who they will trust in the end unless these people declare their views.

Vojislav Milenkovic: Comrade President, you touched on the question of Kosovo. We would be interested in your assessment on efforts in carrying out, in short, the platform on Kosovo.

Sergej Kraigher: I think that great efforts have been made and that the platform has pointed to the essence of the problem and the directions of action. Even before the platform the organs and organizations in Kosovo adopted their own action programs which had already produced results that ensured that the aggressiveness of the hostile forces had decreased noticeably, although one should not exclude possible surprises, for we see that hostile activity has not died down there but still manifests an organized form especially among middle school pupils, at the university and in the students' living quarters.

This must be the object of constant, above all, political action, especially in environments in which hostile elements are active and come out with the "Kosovo-Republic" slogan. Above all through political activity and other things we must cure resolutely all such subversive and other similar actions which disturb our normal life in any area of our social life.

I think that all self-protection actions by the Albanians themselves are particularly significant. These are already taking place and they demonstrate that consciousness about social self-protection is becoming a reality. The awareness has again been awoken that we need community between Albanians, Serbs and Montenegreins in Kosovo, if we are talking specifically about Kosovo, in order to preserve, nurture and deepen mutual trust and ensure through joint forces in all environments the joint resolution of the fateful problems which have linked them through history, as well as in the period of the development of our self-management society, particularly the problems with which they are now confronted, and with which the whole of Yugoslavia is confronted.

Vojislav Milenkovic: Comrade Kraigher, we have reserved the last part of the program for foreign political questions. You represented our country at the meeting of the heads of government in Cancun last year when North-South problem, in other words problems of relations between developed and developing countries, were discussed. The way was paved there toward accord concerning the beginning of global talks. What are the prospects that these talks will begin and take place?

Sergej Kraigher: Yes, the road was paved there. We judged that conditions had become ripe for this process to be further developed in the United Nations because all the developed countries of the West, even President Reagan and his administration had shown understanding for this and expressed their readiness. However, it is likely that the development of events in international relations and especially between the two blocs have strengthened those forces in the developed countries which have a one-sided view and guard their own interests. This is particularly characteristic of big business in the United States, where the military-industrial complex is a very influential factor.

However, we nevertheless hope that what was agreed upon will in the end take place: There are initiatives in this direction -- the Brandt Commission, the activity of Mexican ex-President Echeverria, the initiatives of Mexican President Lopez Portillo and Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau. Apart from that, the economic situation in West European countries and even in the United States is such that it is becoming increasingly clear to the broadest masses and even political parties that without settling the problem of North-South relations and without halting the arms race there can be no solutions to the unemployment problem and all the other social security problems which now make the situation in these countries more difficult. As at Cancun, this will continue to be evident and have an effect until the global talks have taken place.

Vojislav Milenkovic: How do you appraise the possibliity for nonaligned countries to make an even more resolute contribution at this juncture to the relaxation of international tension (?and) democratization of international relations?

Sergej Kraigher: We see that the world situation is deteriorating. This is due to the fact that in their actions the great powers are subordinating (?everything else) in their mutual relations to their own global interests, and that means struggle for influence in different parts of the world, which always affects nonaligned and developing countries. In this way the arms race is no longer a race which is run in order to maintain the military balance between them, because this balance is so great that they can destroy the world 10 times over with it. It is the balance of destruction.

This is increasingly becoming the means the great powers use to tie nonaligned and developing countries to their own positions through this armament complex. It is an instrument, then, for the consolidation and expansion of their spheres of influence.

We therefore consider that the preparations for the seventh summit meeting of nonaligned countries present a great opportunity for nonaligned countries to become involved in the course of the preparations, so that the summit itself can perform its role and make a contribution to the relaxation of international tension and democratization of international relations.

We are also witness to the fact that awareness is growing that the nonaligned too should settle their mutual conflicts in a peaceful manner, through negotiations and not with arms. Consequently, the action aimed at resolving the existing hotbeds of crisis, especially where there is a conflict between nonaligned countries, is one of the most important elements of the preparations for the seventh summit.

Furthermore, the preparations for the UN special session on disarmament, scheduled to take place this year, is also one of the great tasks that face nonaligned and developing countries.

During the preparations for the seventh summit and at the summit itself these countries should raise their voice against the world situation which is a threat to peace. If possible, they should do this as effectively as they did in 1961 at the first summit meeting of nonaligned countries, when the world political situation was approximately the same as today and when their intervention nevertheless led to a certain amount of negotiating and to a relaxation of tension between the great powers.

SERBIAN ASSEMBLY GROUP AIRS CONCERN ON KOSOVO

'Indignation' on Emigration

LD031336 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1426 GMT 2 Mar 82

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Mar (TANJUG) -- More vigorous measures to settle the situation in Kosovo, coupled with intensified ideo-political action and even more detailed analysis of the emigration of the non-Albanian population from Kosovo, with indications for its real reasons -- this is the unanimous demand by the delegates of all three chambers of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia made during the discussions conducted recently in connection with a report on this problem and with the conclusions of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia of 24 November last year.

The report made by a working group of the Federal Executive Council and of the Serbian Executive Council, which lists the most characteristic examples of various kinds of pressures brought to bear by irredentists and Albanian nationalists on the non-Albanian population, has to a great extent irritated the delegates. This was contributed to by the report being classified a "state secret," especially since for a long time and unjustifiably this had been a taboo subject for which, in the view of the delegates, someone should bear responsibility.

Taking note of all the measures which had been taken and which now are being taken in Kosovo to arrest the process of emigration from Kosovo and to allay the situation, the delegates expressed their dissatisfaction over the slow pace of differentiation and suppression of enemy activity. This question, in view of the delegates of the Serbian Assembly, is not a matter for Kosovo and the Socialist Republic of Serbia alone, but of our whole country.

In this context, special responsibility of the League of Communists and its leaders before the working class was called for so as to preserve brotherhood, unity, integrity and freedom of a person irrespective of this nationality.

Emigration from Kosovo, in the view of the delegates, is a taboo topic, but it is at the same time a public secret for everyone, and this includes those people who held key positions in the province, in the republic and in the federation. Individual warnings to top party organs and forecasts of what could happen if appropriate measures were not taken in time against nationalists and irredentists remained unanswered. This makes the indignation of the delegates understandable because despite the measures taken during the past year there are daily daily occurrences of enemy actions, slogan writing, arson, and threats to property and life of Serbs and Montenegrins.

For that reason, while taking note of the efforts of the communists and of all progressive forces in Kosovo which are working hard to overcome the still difficult situation in Kosovo, and of the fact that the situation cannot be allayed overnight, the delegates insist on more vigorous actions being taken, because, if the process of the emigration of the Serbs and Montenegrins continues at the present pace, the irredentists and Albanian nationalists will soon attain their objective -- an ethnically pure Kosovo, with all the consequences which this would create for the entire Yugoslav community.

More Complaints Aired

AU031723 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] Yesterday and today, several committees of the Serbian Assembly discussed an analysis of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. Momcilo Boskovic reports on some of the views expressed in the discussion:

It was by deliberate and organized actions that, for a number of years, Greater Albanian nationalism, chauvinism and irredentism caused a drastic emigration of members of the Serb and Montenegrin nationalities from Kosovo. According to statements made by delegations of the Committee for Self-Managing System of the Chamber of Communes, the reasons for emigration involve a deliberately created general atmosphere of uncertainty of the economic and living prospects for the future life of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo.

According to the report prepared by a working group of the Serbian and Federal Executive Councils, it can be reliably determined on the basis of individual events and phenomena that both the most open and brutal actions and covert actions were prepared and carried out systematically, and proceeded from the same ideological-political platform which ultimately aimed at destabilizing Yugoslavia, undermining its internal structure and annexing Kosovo to Albania.

At this time, the most important political task is to stop the pressures that are causing the emigration. The causes of emigration are numerous and they are a consequence of various pressures manifesting themselves in such actions as occupying land, cutting down forests and orchards, destroying crops, killing livestock, setting fire to property, poisoning and polluting wells, preventing the use of water for irrigation, assaults -- especailly on women and children -- deliberate provocations of quarrels and murders, the desecration of graves and monuments and obstruction of religious ceremonies.

In some instances the children of Albanian nationality have been forbidden to associate with children of the Serb and Montenegrin nationalities, or to speak Serbian. The associations among the younger people are being prevented and thus, in some larger towns in Kosovo, the Albanians walk on one side and the Serbs and Montenegrins along the other side of the promenade.

Some instances of failure to respect and violation of employment regulations were also cited by the committees: 5 to 20 Albanians have been employed for every member of the Serb or Montenegrin nationality employed. Unprofessional Albanian workers have been appointed to leading working positions on the basis of their [word indistinct] qualifications, whereas the qualifications acquired in the appropriate schools have not been recognized for Serbs and Montenegrins. It has happened that in some shops the Serbs and Montenegrins could not make a purchase unless they asked for the goods in Albanian. Similar things have been also happening in connection with the requests for documents and purchases of fare tickets. Some heads of local offices in villages accepted requests from citizens only if they were written in Albanian.

As was pointed out in the discussion, all this was done to create a psychosis of fear and a belief that it is impossible to live safely in Kosovo. An atmosphere of isolation and insecurity was created and this was felt most strongly in connection with the fulfillment of certain rights and needs of life. Long waiting was needed for actions by competent organs, decisions of courts were not carried out and the competent organs of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs, the administration and the inspectorate also failed to provide sufficient protection.

The delegates demand specific and energetic measures in the struggle against irredentists and nationalists, but also that these measures in no instance lead to the other extreme and create mistrust toward the honest Albanian population, living in the province and outside, which condemns and struggles against these negative phenomena.

The topic will be further discussed at the joint session of all chambers of the Serbian Assembly on 12 March.

DISPUTE REPORTED OVER SERBIAN LC DRAFT STATUTE

AU031735 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] A session of the Commission for Statutory Questions of the League of Communists of Serbia is in progress in Belgrade. The commission is discussing the draft amendments to the statute. The proposal that the role of President Tito in developing our socialist society be emphasized in the preamble of the future statute was unanimously adopted. Afterwards, a substantive discussion was held on the essential issues of relations in the League of Communists of Serbia. Following a long discussion, the proposal to define the League of Communists of Serbia as a unified organization was adopted. Milena Trajkovic reports on some of the views expressed during the discussion:

The draft of the general principles of the statute proposes the following formulation: "The League of Communists of Serbia, which includes the Leagues of Communists of the provinces as its component parts, is a revolutionary, leading ideological-political and unified organization of the workers class and working people in the entire republic." At today's session of the commission, this proposal by the Commission for Organizational and Statutory Questions, which was adopted at the 19th session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, provoked bitter polemics. Slavko Veselinov, president of the commission for statutory questions of the League of Communists of Vojvodina, opened the discussion by expressing the view that the definition of the League of Communists of Serbia as a unified organization is not in accord with the LCY Statute. There is only one unified LCY, but the Leagues of Communists of the republics and provinces are its autonomous parts, Veselinov pointed out. Other Vojvodina and Kosovo representatives in the statutory commission, Jose Mijatov, Rustem Bejta and Musa Baljeci, agreed with his view. All of them asked why it is insisted on regulating the unity of the League of Communists of Serbia by statute, and why this issue is linked to implementing the principle of democratic centralism.

They demanded that this provision be omitted from the statute and argued in this connection that none of the other republics has defined its League of Communists as unified.

This argument — if we may call it that -- was immediately refuted. As a matter of fact, it was proved that both the League of Communists of Slovenia and the League of Communists of Macedonia are unified organizations by their statutes, even though they include no provincial leagues. The statements by the Vojvodina and Kosovo representatives provoked sharp responses. What is involved in this connection is an essential issue, Aleksandar Peric concluded. It is impossible to speak about strengthening togetherness in the republic, to which we are bound by the conclusions of the December session of the Central Committee and the platform on Kosovo, without a unified League of Communists of Serbia. The introduction of this term does not diminish the autonomy of the provincial Leagues of Communists. On the contrary, in this manner it is achieved that the League of Communists of Serbia acts in a more unified way on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism, Aleksandar Pedric explained. The decisions of the Central Committee must be obligatory for the entire League of Communists in the republic, and this has not always been the case in the past, Peric stressed. After all, is that not proved by today's discussion also? As a matter of fact, it has become evident that the decisions of the 19th session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia are not accepted as obligatory for all.

Only Slavko Veselinov voted against the proposal defining the League of Communists of Serbia as a unified organization, whereas other Vojvodina and Kosovo representatives abstained.

The provisions on collective work and responsibility and the duration of terms of office were then discussed. The commission will submit the following proposals to public discussion: the term of office of the president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia will be 1 year, and that of the secretary of the Central Committee Presidium will be 2 years. It is proposed that the presidents and secretaries of the communal committees, intercommunal conferences and the Belgrade City Committee of the League of Communists be elected for 2-year terms of office each. All these officials may be reelected for one further term. However, this applies only to Serbia without the provinces. Vojvodina and Kosovo have expressed themselves in favor of 1-year terms of office without possibility for reelection.

Following a discussion by the Central Committee Presidium and, subsequently by a session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia which is expected to be held in the second half of March, the draft amendments to the statute will be submitted to public discussion.

KOSOVO COMMUNE REPORTS CONTINUED DISRUPTIONS

AU031957 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] A meeting with secretaries of the basic League of Communists organization of Kamenice Commune discussed the political and security situation. The assessment and ensuing discussion revealed that the political and security situation continues to be complicated, and that the enemy is still fighting. In Kamenice and [two names indistinct], the enemy is continuing the practice of painting slogans, whereas in [three names indistinct] he is destroying epitaphs on graves and burning [word indistinct].

Honest citizens and working people reacted particularly angrily as a result of the defacement of epitaphs on the graves of war martyrs. Consequently, the meeting came to the conclusion that the League of Communists and other socialist forces in the commune are confronted with very great tasks [word indistinct]. The meeting also came to the conclusion that more vigilance, mobility and determination is required in [words indistinct] for the complete stabilization of the situation.

CETINIK INTERVIEWED ON ELECTION PROCESS

LD030116 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2108 GMT 2 Mar 82

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Mar (TANJUG) -- Any Yugoslav may be elected to any post in the forthcoming elections, provided he or she is devoted to the system of self-management socialism. This was stated by Marin Cetinic, a senior functionary of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia and chairman of the Committee for Cadre Policy in the federation, in an interview with foreign correspondents in Belgrade this evening. Cetinic called for free, democratic debate and "dialogue on the basis of the utmost equality between communists and non-communists" on all questions of the development of the system and cadre policy.

In Yugoslavia, elections in the communes, cities, provinces, republics and the federation will be held from the beginning of March to the end of April. More than half the present holders of various offices are expected to leave them, as they will have served the two terms permitted under the Constitution. Over 2.5 million people will be elected to various posts from the communal to the federal level.

The Yugoslav electoral system, based on the election of delegations from the economy, territorial units and socio-political organizations, is intended to ensure influence of the "social base" and its control over the passing of decisions at all levels in the federation, as well as the complete equality of all federal units.

Cetinic said that the broadest democratisation of the elections to all posts was needed, but cautioned that essential too was "a determined political struggle" against all those who try to use the elections in order to undermine the foundations of the self-management system. Cetinic stressed the importance of criticism for the development of Yugoslav society, pointing out that criticism should be constructive and formulated "from the standpoint of how to move forward better". People who set forth such criticism should be given a chance in the elections, he said.

Asked whether the "cadre commissions" screening the candidates for individual posts were needed, Cetinic expressed the view that those who are closest to candidates in factories or local neighbourhood communities best know their abilities, and that they should therefore be left to decide. As society continues to democratize, the need for the cadre commission will disappear. At present, however, they still have to see that progressively-minded people are elected, he added.

Asked whether Milka Planinc, the candidate for the post of federal premier, had any influence on the choice of candidates for government departments, Cetinic replied that she had been consulted.

In addition to the candidate for premier, also known are those nominated for the departments of national defence, foreign and internal affairs. Cetinic stated that there had been a number of possible candidates for each of these posts and that the final proposals were adjusted after all Yugoslav republics and provinces had been democratically consulted.

BRIEFS

CHAMBER OF ECONOMY PRESIDENT -- At the 12th session of the Assembly of the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy Straso Hristov was elected president of the presidium of this organization, with a 1-year term of office. The mandate of Jon Srbovan, the current president of the Presidium of the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy, has expired. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1322 GMT 2 Mar 82 LD]